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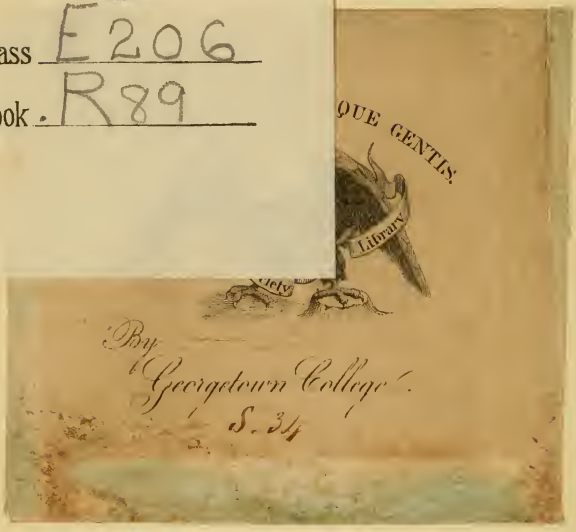

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THE

Monument of Patriotism,

BEING A COLLECTION OF

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES

OF THE

LIVES AND CHARACTERS OF SOME OF THOSE MEN WHO SIGNED

THE

INDEPENDENCE OF AMERICA;

AND

BRIEF SKETCHES OF MANY OTHER EMINENT STATESMEN,

ALSO,

GENERALS AND HEROES WHO FOUGHT AND BLED IN THE REVOLUTIONARY WAR,

AND ALSO,

The most Prominent Characters of the

LATE WAR

WITH

GREAT BRITAIN.

TO WHICH IS ANNEXED THE

Declaration of Independence in 1776,

AND

George Washington's Farewell Address.

AN EULOGIUM ON THE CHARACTER OF

General George Washington.

Compiled from the most authentic and approved authors,

BY JOHN ROYER.

A NEW EDITION.

POTTSTOWN:
PUBLISHED BY JOHN ROYER.
1825.

PREFACE.

BIOGRAPHY, in all its forms, is allowed to be the most fascinating and instructive species of literary composition. It not only possesses all the advantages of general history, the various excellencies of which may be judiciously interwoven with the lives of eminent personages, but it frequently discovers the minute and latent springs of great events, which, in the comprehensive range of History, would have escaped attention.

Many of the attractions of Biography in general, and some additional advantages, are possessed by *co-temporary Biography*. The memoirs of men, who are the present actors on the great theatre of life, who acquire and demand public confidence, and from whom further results of action or meditation are to be expected, necessarily excite a higher degree of curiosity, than the lives of those who have made their exit from the stage,

by whom no future good or evil can be performed or perpetrated, and who, "dead, gone, and forgotten," are generally carried down the stream of oblivion, and swallowed up in the gulph of unregistered mortality.

It must be admitted, that the biographer of deceased persons is better enabled, by the independence of his situation, and a more extensive retrospect, to estimate the degree of virtue and vice, and to appreciate the sum total of merit and demerit with greater precision, than the cotemporary biographer, who is restrained, by the extreme delicacy of his undertaking, from giving the finishing stroke to his delineations of character, whose incomplete materials prevent him from deducing general and important conclusions in their proper latitude, and in many cases, from discriminating between hypocrisy and sincerity. Still, however, a writer of this description is better able to collect facts, and may in general, be more depended upon, as to the authenticity of his testimony, than he who writes the lives of deceased persons. Many eminent men, respecting whom posterity have cause to lament the

deficiency of biographical information, have passed their early days in obscurity and those who then knew them, were either too ignorant, or too unobservant, to be able to make any communications respecting them. When Death has once set his seal upon their labours, few or no opportunities offer of obtaining satisfactory and circumstantial information; their early cotemporaries are, probably, also gone off the stage. From causes like these, how little is known of some of the most distinguished luminaries that have irradiated the political and literary hemispheres! Of many we know only, that they filled elevated situations, that they composed splendid works, made important discoveries, died in a particular year, and were at length interred in some venerable repository of the dead.

America has had her full proportion of genius. In every art and every science, she can point, with pleasure, to some of her sons conspicuous among the nations of the earth; and however pleasing and instructive it might be to detail the lives of all those worthies who signalized themselves, either in the cabinet or the field, during the revolutionary and

late war with Great Britain. Here may the youth, who wishes to act a distinguished part in the cabinet, endeavor to imitate Franklin, Hancock, and Henry. Here may the soldier, whose only ambition is patriotism and glory, be animated to acquire the laurels, gained by Washington, Wayne, Warren, Pike, Harrison and Jackson. And here may the seamen dwell with delight and satisfaction, on the heroic actions of Jones, Lawrence, Decatur, Macdonough, Bainbridge and Porter. In a word, here may the sons of America trace the lineaments of their fathers' glory, and by their example learn to imitate their deeds.

The ingratitude of Republics to their distinguished benefactors and heroes, has long been proverbial. But this opinion, like many others with relation to Republican governments, had its origin in the examples of Greece and Rome, and so far as imparts that ingratitude to those who render important services to their country, is peculiar to, or in any way a consequence of Republican institutions, is entirely unfounded. Titles, at best, are but an empty reward, and in this country they are altogether despised. The

names of Benjamin Franklin, George Washington, Thomas Jefferson, convey to the mind more just and distinct ideas of exalted patriotism, of distinguished public services, and of real greatness, than could be done by any titles which could have been given them.

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A

MONUMENT OF PATRIOTISM.

LIFE OF WASHINGTON.

In the history of man, we contemplate, with particular satisfaction, those legislators, heroes, and philosophers, whose wisdom, valor, and virtue, have contributed to the happiness of the human species. We trace the luminous progress of those excellent beings with secret complacency; our emulation is excited, while we behold them steadily pursue the path of rectitude, in defiance of every obstuction; and we rejoice that we are of the same species.

The authentic pages of biography unite the most grateful amusement with instruction. Truth supports the dignity of the historic muse, who will not admit of either fulsome panegyric, or invidious censure—she describes her hero with genuine simplicity—mentions his frailties, his characteristic pecularities, and his shining qualities. In short, she gives a faithful and lively portrait of the man, investigates the latent motives of his actions, and celebrates those virtues which have raised him to an enviable pre-eminence above his cotemporariers.

We sympathize in the sufferings, and participate the triumphs of those illustrious men who stand

"Majestic 'mid the monuments of time;"

and the approbation of excellence in others, naturally leads the mind to imitate the object of its adoration.

Among these worthies, who have a claim to our gratitude and veneration, George Washington, a

native of the United States, appears in a conspicuous place, in the first rank.

He was the descendant of an ancestry, not opulent, but ancient and respectable, from the north of England. About the year 1657, his great grandfather, John Washington, possessing an independent and enterprising spirit, emigrated to America, and setteld on an estate, in Westmoreland county, in the province of Virginia. His immediate issue, in the line we are tracing, was Lawrence Washington, whose son Augustine, was, by a second marriage, the father of the subject of this article.

George Washington, being the third in descent, from the European stock, was an American, by the ties of birth-right and blood, no less than by those of education and sentiment. He was born at the original seat of his paternal ancestors, in the county of Westmoreland, on the twenty-second day of February, 1732.

Primitively, to inspire him with a love of truth, and to cultivate, in his infant mind, a rooted abhorrence of deception and falsehood, appear to have been the early and continued care of his excellent parents. Nor in relation to him and his future destinies, could they have engaged in a more sacred and important duty; or devised by the aid of wisdom and experience, a plan of education of higher necessity or fairer promise.

Ardent, enterprising, and of surpassing strength, his mind was peculiarly qualified to lead or to command. For ordinary operations, it had neither fitness nor predilection; nor, from his tenth year, could it ever be easily seduced into childish sports.

Without the sentiments, then, so wisely and piously inculated by his parents, a love of truth, an abhorrence of falsehood, which constitute the basis of sound morality, it might, by becoming the harbor of vice and dishonour, have proved to his cotemporaries, instead of a blessing, a source of serious and lasting misfortune. Enamoured of employment, and formed for

high exploits, it could not, under circumstances favourable for action, have failed to transmit to posterity, some enduring memorials of its powers. In achievements, advantageous or injurious, in no common degree, it was destined to signalize itself.

So faithfully was this scheme of instruction administered, that it proved, in its issue, completely successful. By those who are entitled to credit, it is asserted, that, on no occasion, either to insure a favour or reward, or to escape, anticipated reprimand or correction, was the subject of it known to utter a falsehood. A sense of duty operating on a manly and ingenious disposition, induced him to acknowledge, without prevarication, whatever faults the wantonness of childhood might have seduced him to commit. So proverbial did his adherence to truth, and the perfect correctness of his representations become, that when, at school, disputes arose among his companions, as to the existence or character of facts or occurrences, where he was alleged to have been present, he was uniformly called on, to settle the controversy; and appeals from his decision were exceedingly rare.

These things, small in themselves, would be unworthy of record, as the mere attributes of the child; but they swell into importance, from their intimate connexion with the transcendent worth and greatness of the man. So true, and so important, in their application, are the lines of the poet:

"'Tis education forms the solid mind,
"Just as the twig is bent, the tree's inclin'd."

Before he had completed his tenth year, young Washington, having had the misfortune to be deprived of his father, was left to the care of a widowed mother, under circumstances, which did not permit him to receive the advantages of a liberal education.

The knowledge of mathematics excepted, in which, from the bent and aptitude of his genius to that science, he made considerable progress, his scholastic attainments appear to have been limited. In the homely language of the times, "to read, write, and ci-

pher," constituted the complement of learning allotted to him, who was destined to prove the glory of his age; and to rank at the head of the ornaments of history. But so vigorous were the seeds of greatness implanted in his nature, that but little cultivation was requisite for their growth.

He is said to have manifested, at an early period a strong predilection for the military profession. Besides an unusual attachment to firearms, and a dexterity in using them, beyond his years, he was in the constant practice of drilling his companions, forming them into sections, arranging them in order of battle, and leading them to mimic combat. On these occasions, however inferior, in age and size, to many of his comrades, he was always, in rank, commander in chief.

Nor was nature content to bestow on him only the soul of a chieftain. To render him perfect, in this respect, as far as perfection belongs to humanity, she was equally liberal to him, in personal qualities. With a figure, masculine and well formed, and unusually graceful and commanding, for his years, he possessed extraordinary agility and strength. In running, he had no equal; in leaping and wrestling, very few. In horsemanship and hunting he also excelled.

By pursuing habitually, during his youth, such manly and athletic exercises, as these, he acquired that vigour and hardihood, activity and address, which so admirably fitted him, in qualities of person, for the scenes in which he was destined to engage. For, to him whose province it becomes, to penetrate unexplored and dangerous forests; to reconnoitre a foe, swift of foot, and forever on the alert; to endure the extremes and hardships of a camp, oftentimes unprovided with the necessary protection against the inclemencies of the weather; and to lead armies in person to battle; efficiency of body, is no less requisite than resources of mind.

When in his fifteenth year, his passion for arms disclosed itself in an act of a more decided character.

Fired by the splendour of some achievements at sea, and the Americans having, as yet, no renown on that element, he solicited and obtained the appointment of midshipman in the British navy.

But the scenes, which, in prospect, so attractively presented themselves to his youthful imagination, and invited him to glory, in this line of life, he voluntarily relinquished, at the entreaties of his mother. At so critical an age, when feeling is most unruly, and reason immature, did he exhibit a perfect mastery of himself, even in opposition to his ruling passion.

From this period, we hear but little of our young countryman, until his nineteenth year, when we find him, high in reputation, as a surveyor of land, in a frontier district, and one of the adjutants general of the province of Virginia, with the rank of major in the line. To have obtained, thus early, a trust and a commission, requiring, for their due execution, the judgment and experience of mature life, he must have employed his youth to excellent purpose. To the steadiness, fidelity, and perseverance of manhood, he must have united a commanding dignity of deportment, and a degree of prudence, and intelligence, altogether beyond his years. History furnishes, perhaps, no instance, in which, without the intrigues of party, or the overruling influence of the affluent or the great, a confidence so extensive, as was here reposed in so young a man.

But this is not the only particular, in which his merit was beyond example. He rarely appears, in any capacity, without exhibiting a marked superiority of excellence. This is true, whether we regard him as a citizen, or a statesman, a first magistrate, or a military chief. Unlettered as he was, even his writings are singularly perspicuous, chaste, and forcible. But on these topics, we shall have occasion, hereafter, to dwell more at large.

A crisis was now at hand, in which he was to be called to the execution of a trust, much more arduous

in its nature, and momentous in its issue, than any, in which he had been, heretofore, concerned.

France and England, although at peace in Europe, might be said to be, virtually, at war, in America. Each nation claimed the right of sovereignty, over a large unsettled tract of country, west of the Allegheny mountains, but within the chartered lines of the British colonies. In this disputed territory, France meditated the erection of a number of forts, with a view to maintain her claim to it; and, connecting Canada to Louisiana, by a chain of military posts, to confine the British colonies to the east of the mountains. This encroachment, should it be actually attempted, it was the determination of the colonists to repel by arms.

To prevent such an extremity, if possible; or, should he fail in the effort, the better to justify his conduct, in the event, governor Dinwiddie, of the province of Virginia, resolved to send a remonstrance to the French commandant, on the waters of the Ohio, solemnly protesting against the proceedings of France, as hostile to the rights of his Britanic majesty, and threatening to the safety, and injurious to the interests of his American subjects. Of this important state document, which might become the basis of either peace or war, major Washington, now in the twenty-second year of his age, was selected as the bearer.

But his mission was not limited, in its object, to the mere carrying of a letter. He was deputed to explore, with a view to military positions and operations, the tract of country through which he was to pass; to conciliate the affections of the Indian tribes inhabiting it; to compass, as far as possible, the designs of France; and to report, on his return, such intelligence, as might aid the government, in its adoption of measures, to meet the occasion.

A mission so intrinsically difficult, and, at the same time, so important, had never, perhaps, been intrusted to the sole management of so youthful a negotiator. To a mind less aspiring, or a spirit of less ardour, in-

trepidity, and enterprise, the obstacles that presented themselves would have appeared insurmountable.

Winter was approaching; and the route to the French head quarters, lay through a tract of wilderness, several hundred miles in extent, embarrassed by mountains, intersected by rapid and dangerous rivers, covered by snows, of considerable depth, and inhabited by several tribes of savages, some of which were known to be unfriendly, at the same time, to the British colonists.

But instead of discouragements, these things were incentives, to the soul of Washington. Leaving to others, of halcyon temperament, the pleasures of the calm, and the enjoyment of the sunshine, it was his to exult in the strife of the elements, and the coming of the storm. Pleased with the enterprise, to which he was called, on account of the good it might eventually produce, he was the more enamoured of it from the difficulties and dangers, by which it was surrounded.

Having prepared for his journey, without a moment's delay, he set out from a frontier settlement, on Will's creek, on the 15th of November, accompanied by two servants, and an interpreter, accomplished his mission, in a manner so perfect, as to secure the undivided applause of his country, and returned to Williamsburgh, on the 78th day from the time of his appointment.

During this excursion, besides, other observations of practical importance, he first designated as a situation suitable for a fortress, the point of land, formed by the confluence of the Monongahela and the Allegheny rivers. On that spot Fort Du Quesne, subsequently Fort Pitt, now Pittsburgh, was, soon afterwards, erected by order of the French.

The journal kept by major Washington, on this occasion, was deemed, by the governor and colonial assembly, of his native province, worthy of the press; when printed, was eagerly sought after and read, by his countrymen; and procured, for its author, as well on account of the resources of his mind, as of his per-

sonal prowess, energies, and firmness, a large additional stock of public admiration, and well placed confidence.

Induced, by the stormy aspect of affairs, to raise, in the following year, a body of men, for the protection of her frontier settlements, Virginia conferred on major Washington, the rank of lieutenant colonel; and, his superior officer soon after dying, gave to him the entire command of the regiment.

Accustomed to lead in every enterprise of gallantry and danger, he had the fortune to conduct, in person, the first open conflict of arms, which took place in the war that was now commencing, between the French and the British colonists. Convinced of the hostile intentions of a detachment of the former, which had encamped near the Great Meadows, on the western frontier of Virginia, he advanced on them, under cover of a dark and rainy night, poured in a fire, which killed the commanding officer, Monsieur Jumonville, and immediately surrounding the remainder, captured the whole party, with the exception of one individual, who effected his escape.

Not long after this an affair occurred, much better calculated than any preceding one, to try completely the military talents of our young commander.

With nothing but a half finished stockade fort, and his own genius to defend him, we find him, at the head of three hundred Virginians, engaged in desperate, but unequal combat, with a detachment of twelve hundred French and Indians, under the command of Monsieur de Villier.

The action lasted from ten o'clock, in the morning, until sunset; during the whole of which, foremost in battle, and refusing refreshment, Washington fought without the stockade, openly exposed to the fire of the enemy. But, from the beginning, until the close, of his career of glory, the shield of Heaven appeared to be before him; for, in the midst of peril, which so often seemed to menace him with inevitable destruction;

no hostile hand was ever permitted to shed a drop of his blood.

A parley being called for, by the French commander, a negotiation ensued, which terminated on the part of Washington, in a surrender of the fort, on condition, that the defenders of it should be permitted to "march out with the honours of war, to retain their arms and baggage, and return, unmolested, to the inhabited parts of Virginia."

For their firmness and good conduct in battle, and a capitulation so honourable, with an enemy so far superior in numbers, colonel Washington and his officers received from the legislature of Virginia, a vote of thanks. In addition to their pay, three hundred pistoles were, at the same time, distributed among the soldiers who had been engaged in the action. No arrangements being made by the government of the colony, for a renewal of offensive operations, during the present year, col. Washington resigned his commission.

An open rupture between France and England was, in a short time, the result of so serious a collision between their colonies.

Preparations were made by both parties, to act with vigour, and on an extensive scale.

General Braddock arrived in America, early in the year 1755, at the head of two British Regiments, with orders to proceed immediately to protect the frontiers, and chastise the enemy, colonel Washington accepted an invitation to accompany him, in the character of a volunteer aid.

The object of the campaign was the reduction of Du Quesne, a French garrison, situated, as already stated, near the confluence of the Monongahela and the Allegheny rivers.

Ignorant, as general Braddock was, of the nature of the country, through which he was to pass, as well as the character of the enemy he had to encounter; and rejecting, from a sentiment of military pride, strengthened, perhaps, in the present instance, by a conceit of

British superiority, the salutary advice of his American aid, who was known to be perfectly acquainted with both, delay in movement, and a terrible disaster in battle, were the fatal consequences.

While a select detachment of twelve hundred men, under the immediate command of general Braddock, was on its march from the Little Meadows, towards Fort Du Quesne, colonel Washington, who had been previously indisposed, was suddenly seized with a raging fever, which compelled him, after a dangerous effort to proceed, to halt for several days, under medical treatment.

Having recovered sufficiently to travel, in his baggage wagon, he pressed forward, with all the eagerness of military enthusiasm, and, rejoining the detachment on the 8th of July, entered immediately, although much enfeebled, on the performance of his duties.

On the day following, just as the army had crossed the Monongahela, and secure of danger, was in easy march towards its place of destination, now, but a few miles distant, in front, occurred that memorable scene of slaughter, known throughout Europe, as well as America, by the popular name of "Braddock's defeat."

An ambuscade had been formed, in a well chosen position, by a large party of French and Indians, into which, by again rejecting, in a tone of haughtiness the the modest counsels of his volunteer aid, advising him of the probability of such an event, the British commander was unfortunately seduced.

A conflict of the most sanguinary character ensued. It was in this field of blood, where the hearts of the bravest shrunk, in dismay, from the dismal war-hoop, and the wide-spreading carnage, that the youthful American, by his unshaken firmness, self-possession, and skill in battle, distinguished himself to the perfect astonishment of his country.

So deadly was the aim of the French and Indian riflemen, at the British officers, that, early in the action, Washington was the only surviving aid of the ill fated

Braddock. This disaster, in itself disheartening, trebled his duties, and increased his exertions, to a degree that was incredible. Debilitated, as he was, by a fever, from which he had but imperfectly recovered, he was seen on horseback, at every point of the action, but especially where the fire of the enemy was most destructive to the British line, directing the movements of the provincial rangers, rallying and encouraging the broken and desponding columns of regulars, and executing the orders of the commander in chief.

During three hours, he was thus exposed, far within striking distance, to the deliberate aim of some of the most deadly marksmen of the age. Two horses fell under him, and a third was wounded; four balls pierced his coat, and several others grazed his sword; but, destined, by Heaven, for higher purposes, his person was untouched. Every other officer on horseback being either killed, or severely wounded, he, alone, at the close of the action, was capable of service.

What rendered his safety the more extraordinary, several of the Indians afterwards acknowledged, that, when but a few paces distant from him, they aimed their shot repeatedly at his breast. His escape, under these circumstances, began to produce among them a firm belief, that by virtue of some supernatural agency his person, for the time, was rendered invulnerable.

Partly on account of a preservation so signal, in the midst of perils, so numerous and menacing, and, in part, from the well tried heroism of his character, an able and pious divine, of the day, declared, in a strain of impassioned eloquence, that he could not but consider him as preserved by Heaven for some very distinguished service to his country.

When in the course of the battle, general Braddock who, at the head of his troops, had gallantly presented himself, as a mark for the riflemen, fell, under a wound, that, in a few days, proved mortal, the panic of his regulars became universal, and their flight from the combat, disorderly and precipitate. But, not so with

Washington, and the surviving remnant of his brave Virginians. They lingered on the field, with unyielding obstinacy, protected the rear of their routed companions, and rescued from the butchery of the hatchet and the scalping knife, the person of the wounded commander in chief.

Under Providence, it was the good conduct of colonel Washington, in battle and retreat, that saved the army from utter extermination. It was the belief of every one—nor did thousands hesitate, loudly to express it—that had he been invested with the chief command, the disasters of the day would not have occurred.

By the discomfiture and retreat of the army of Braddock, the frontiers of Virginia were again exposed to the incursions and massacres of a victorious foe. For protection and safety, the trust of his native province, was instinctively reposed in the genius of Washington. So unlimited was her confidence in his judgment and skill, that, in her scheme of defence, she not only appointed him commander in chief of all the coloniel troops to be raised on the occasion, but vested in him the privilege of nominating his field officers.

From this time, until the close of hostilities in 1758, a period of about three years, the life of our young countryman presented a scene of unremitting action, solicitude and toil.

To defend, with a very limited body of troops, a frontier of nearly four hundred miles in extent, easily passable at almost any point, against an enemy intrepid, artful, and forever on the alert; that skulked by day, and ravaged by night, substituting murder for honorable war—against such an enemy, to conduct a defence so disproportioned to his means, was a task too arduous for man to perform. It was during his devotion to it, and while his distracted fellow subjects were imploring from him succours he was unable to afford, that he expressed himself, by a letter, in

the following terms: "The supplicating tears of the women, and the moving petitions of the men, melt me with such deadly sorrow, that, I solmly declare, if I know my own mind, I could offer myself a willing sacrifice to the butchering enemy, provided that could contribute to the people's ease."

Difficult, and of great responsibility, as was the appointment he held, his popularity, while toiling in the discharge of the duties of it, continuing to increase, he left it with more reputation than he accepted it: a circumstance of rare occurrence, in any thing connected with the feelings of the multitude. In the midst of their distresses, when their sufferings where such as might have wrung from their expressions of deep dissatisfaction, with every thing earthly, the people of the frontiers were never heard to murmur a complaint against the conduct of Washington. With a degree of unanimity, but very seldom witnessed, all seemed convinced, that whatever was within the compass of human achievement, he faithfully performed.

Of all that he recommended to the government of Virginia, for the permanent security and tranquillity of the province, his favourite measure was the reduction of Fort Du Quesne. "Never," said he in a letter to a friend, "will the knife and the hatchet cease to be stained in the blood of the frontier inhabitants, until that fortress be within our power. Better to sacrifice in the reduction of it, another army, than that the enterprise be abandoned."

The event, in relation to this point, fully evinced the correctness of his views, and the soundness of his judgement. No sooner did Fort Du Quesne pass into the possession of the British, in 1758, than the war of the frontiers was completely at an end.

The marauding and murdering parties of savages, heretofore so fatal and alarming in their incursions, having, now, on the borders of the colonies, neither a place of common rendezvous, in which to concert their plans of invasion, a strong hold to fly to on oc-

casions of danger, nor artful counsellors to encourage and reward them in the practice of rapine, and the pursuit of blood, ceased to be troublesome to the repose of the inhabitants.

With the close of the campaign of 1758, active hostilities being now at an end, terminated the career of colonel Washington as a provincial officer.

On resigning his commission, and retiring from the army, he received in a most affectionate address, the thanks of his regiment; and carried with him the esteem of the British officers, and the gratitude and love of his native province, which he had so highly honoured and so nobly served.

Scarcely had he reposed from the toils of war, when, in reward for all he had performed and endured, he was favoured, in marriage, with the hand of Mrs. Custis, who, to an elegant person, and an ample fortune, united all the qualities of a fine woman, and the attainments and polish of an accomplished lady.

A few years previously, he had received, on the death of an elder brother, a valuable estate, denominated Mount Vernon, pleasantly situated on the banks of the Potomac. On this he settled soon after his marriage, and, forgetting in the lap of domestic happiness the fatigues and solicitudes of military life, exchanged in a short time, the character of the ablest soldier of the country, for that of the most skilful cultivator of the soil.

From the beauties of its scenery, the salubrity of its situation, and a sentiment of attachment to his brother, who bequeathed it to him, Mount Vernon had for Washington all the attractions a place of residence could possibly possess. In that delightful and favourite spot, surrounded by whatever renders life desirable,

"A nation's praise, friends, health, connubial love,
"A conscience peaceful, and approving Heaven,"

he devoted himself, for a period of fifteen years, exclusively to agricultural and domestic pursuits; except, that he served as a member of the house of burgesses

of Virginia, and a judge of the court of the county in which he resided. In these capacities he acquitted himself with great intelligence, purity and honour, enlarged his experience in the transaction of public business, and acquired much useful and practical knowledge in the science of civil government.

During this interval, the conflicting claims of Great Britain and America were often times a subject of serious discussion in the legislature of Virginia. On these occasions, Washington steadily attached himself to the whig party, and opposed, with all the weight of his character, and every argument his genius could devise, the right of the mother country to tax her colonies. In consideration of this line of conduct, he was known by the name of the *Virginia Patriot.*

In the year 1774, we find him a distinguished member from his native province, of the first American Congress, which assembled in Philadelphia, to deliberate on the rights and interests of their common country, to remonstrate against grievances, which could no longer be tolerated, and, should the crisis demand it, to choose between political freedom and bondage, the resistance of citizens and the submission of slaves.

Denominated. from his skill and experience in military affairs the *Soldier of America,* he was chairman, as long as he remained in Congress, of every committee appointed by that body, for the purpose of public defence. And, when, ultimately, the injustice, and meditated oppression of the British ministry, forced on the American people the war of the revolution, he was unanimously elected, to the infinite satisfaction and joy of his country, commander in chief, of all the armies of the United Colonies. So pre-eminent was his standing, as a military character, that his appointment was neither attended with competition, nor followed by envy. It was an act of intuitive homage, paid by an enlightened and virtuous people, to an individual who was above rivalship.

Illustrious as he already was, and inestimable as his services to his country had been, we now behold

him entering on a much more radiant and important career.

Having accepted, with expressions of peculiar modesty, the exalted rank bestowed on him, by Congress, he soon manifested, in the discharge of the momentous duties appertaining to it, all the qualities of a great commander. What he had been in his youth, to the colony of Virginia, its vigorous and invincible arm of defence, he now became, in the strength of manhood, to his country at large.

To give a finished portraiture of all his achievements, during the war of t e revolution, is the province of history: the biographer must be content with a bare enumeration of them.

It was not the least patriotic of his actions, that, for his services, as commander in chief, which were indeed above price, he declined, from their commencement, by express stipulation, all emolument. The disbursement of the expenses, necessarily attendant on the station he filled, was all his country could prevail on him to accept.

Massachusetts was now the theatre of war, the town of Boston being occupied by the enemy.

On the reception of his commission, general Washington lost no time in placing himself at the head of the American forces, in the vicinity of Cambridge.

His journey from Philadelphia to that place, was a continued jubilee to the friends of liberty. He was welcomed into the towns and villages, through which he passed, by deputations, gratulatory addresses, profesions of attachment and proffers of support. The liveliest hopes were entertained and expressed, that, under his direction, Heaven would be propitious to the arms of freedom.

On his arrival at the American head quarters, he found an assemblage of brave men, anxious to avenge the wrongs of their country, but no army, in a technical sense. Discipline among the troops, experience among the officers, skilful engineers, ammunition and

bayonets, clothes and working tools, were wanting in a degree that was truly alarming. Nothing but the genius and resources of a great leader, could supply, on the very lines of an enemy, provided with every thing such a fearful deficiency of military means.

Under these circumstances the first care of the commander in chief was, to introduce among his soldiers a system of suitable discipline, to create the means of instruction for his officers, and to procure, without delay, the munitions that were wanting.

No sooner had he accomplished this, and prepared his army to operate offensively, than he became exceedingly anxious for some achievement, that might shed a lustre on the arms of his country, and confirm the spirits of the timid and wavering.

For this purpose, he projected, against the enemy, various enterprises, all of them marked with profound judgment, and some of them peculiarly bold and daring. But the prudence of general Howe, the British commander, who kept strictly within his lines, and other circumstances, not subject to human control, prevented their accomplishment.

Thus passed the winter of 1775 6, the British army in possession of Boston, and the Americans of the heights and strong holds around it, without the occurrence of any action to illustrate the period.

By the course he pursued, and the measures he adopted, the prudence and skill of the American commander, were sufficiently manifested; but as no assault on the enemy's works had actually been made; and as the attacks and adventures he had secretly meditated, were known only to himself, and a few of his officers, some began to question his energy and enterprise. In relation, however, to this point, doubt and uncertainty were effectually dissipated, by his conduct, on various occasions, in the progress of the war.

To say noting of the ardour and heroism, of his youth, the current of future events exhibited, in a short time, abundant proof, that the bent of his mind was to daring exploits; but, that a consciousness of the inferiority of his means, and a determination, never to hazard, for his own gratification, the interest of the cause in which he was engaged, restrained the native impetuosity of his character. To his moral and intellectual excellence, therefore, not to any physical defect, was his Fabian system—his apparent want of enterprise, to be attributed.

Weary of so long a confinement to his works, yet more afraid to venture from behind them; and apprehensive, that by some successful stratagem, the American chief might yet compel him to open combat, general Howe, early in the spring of 1776, evacuated Boston and sailed to the south.

Washington immediately entered the town, where he was received with grateful hearts and joyous acclamations, midst the praises and blessings of a patriotic people, rescued from the oppression of military rule.

New York became next the theatre of war. Foreseeing that this would be the case, the American leader had some time previously, despatched a large detachment of his army, under the command of major general Lee, to fortify the place, and render it as far as possible capable of defence.

On the part of Great Britain, the campaign of 1776, was opened with great preparation and pomp; and presented, from its commencement, an aspect truly formidable to liberty. Including the army and navy, which acted in concert, the royal forces, regular, veteran, and well provided, amounted to fifty thousand men.

It is worthy of remark, that, before the actual commencement of hostilities, in this campaign, general Howe, and his brother admiral Howe, who commanded, at the time, the British fleet, attempted to open,

in the capacity of civil commissioners, a negotiation with general Washington, with a view to effectuate a peace, and a reunion of the revolted colonies to the mother country.

Introducing the business, they sent to him, under the protection of a flag, a letter, addressed to "George Washington, Esq." This he promptly refused to receive, because it did not recognize the title appertaining to his rank; observing at the same time, that, although it was not his practice to "sacrifice essentials to punctilio, yet, in this instance, he deemed it a duty to his country, to insist on that respect, which, in any other than a public view, he would willingly have waved."

Soon afterwards, adjutant general Patterson, of the British army, arrived at the American head quarters, bearing a letter from general Howe, addressed to "George Washington, &c. &c. &c."

After presenting himself to the commander in chief, with many civil and complimentary expressions, the royal messenger ventured to hope, that the address of the letter he bore would be satisfactory, inasmuch as the *et cæteras* it contained, might be considered as implying every thing. This courtly exordium was accompanied with an assurance, that, by such a procedure, the commissioners of his Britanic majesty, meant no disrespect to the American commander; but, that they entertained for him, personally, the highest regard.

General Washington replied in substance, that he perceived, in the address of the letter, no recognition of his military rank, or public station; "that it was true, the *et cæteras* implied every thing, but they also implied any thing; and that he should, therefore, decline the receiving any letter, directed to him, as a private person, when it related to his public station."

In a conference which ensued, the adjutant general observed, that the British commissioners were cloth-

ed with great powers, and would be exceedingly happy, in effecting an accommadation. The sententious reply was, "that, from what appeared, their powers were only to grant pardons; and that they who had committed no fault, wanted no pardon."

In the present campaign, hostilities did not commence until the month of August.

To cope with the powerful and veteran arms of Britain, which were posted on Long and Staten islands, Washington's whole command did not exceed twenty-seven thousand men. Of these, two-thirds were militia, and one-fourth of the whole were on the sick list.

By unremitting vigilance and exertion, in superintending every thing, in person; and by a series of wise preparatory measures, he had endeavored from the commencement of the season, to mature his troops for vigorous action,.

A system of strict discipline was introduced into the army; an attempt was made to awaken the patriotism, pride and domestic feelings of the soldiery and officers, by some of the most eloquent and touching addresses, that were ever penned; and to operate on their fears, as well as on the nobler feelings of their nature, orders, were given, to shoot, on the spot, every one who should shrink from his duty in battle.

So excellently were the American forces posted and arranged, that, although greatly superior in numbers and discipline, the enemy were for a time, exceedingly cautious in commencing their operations.

At length, on the 27th of August, a memorable battle was fought on Long Island; in which, a large body of Americans, under the command of general Sullivan, was every where defeated with great slaghter. In the actual command of this affair, general Washington had no concern.

Perceiving, however, that the fortune of the day was fearfully against him, he passed, in person, over the East river, with a view to check the advance of

the victorious enemy, until his troops could be withdrawn entirely from the island. This he effected, with a degree of ability and skill, which would alone, have designated him a great commander.

The two armies were within musket shot of each other, with a slight eminence between them; the width of the East river, is about half a mile; and the number of troops to be transported over it was nine thousand, with their baggage, tents, and field artillery.

With such address was the movement conducted, that the retreat was completed before the enemy suspected its commencement. Washington superintended, in person, the whole transaction. During the performance of these duties, he was forty-eight hours without sleep, with but litle refreshment, and on horseback the principal part of the time.

In this secret transportation of his troops, he was aided by a dark night, a fair wind and a heavy fog in the morning, which completely covered him from the view of the enemy.

To be satisfied that nothing was left undone, he remained until the army, and all its baggage and equipments, were removed from the Long Island shore, and embarked himself in the last boat.

Not long after this, an affair occurred, on York island, in which, for a moment, the fall of Washington appeared inevitable.

Stung to the soul, by two instances of dastardly and disgraceful conduct in detachments of the American soldiery; believing that, in such troops, no confidence could be safely reposed; that, from the want of firmness, the cause of freedom would be lost, he himself dishonored, and the yoke of servitude rivetted on his country, perhaps for ages, driven to desperation by such prospects, his habitual calmness and equanimity forsook him, and, in the rear of his fugitive battalions, he intentionally exposed himself to the fire of the enemy, in the hope that a ball might terminate his life, and save him the agony of surviving for a moment, the liberties of his country.

But, as on former occasions, to preserve him for ulterior and higher purposes, a protecting Providence appeared to be around him, until by dint of importunity, amounting to indirect violence, his aids succeeded in removing him from danger.

The American commander next presents himself under circumstances much more disastrous, and in a conjunction of affairs, more gloomy and portentous than any that had preceded.

We find him at the head of an army reduced in numbers to one-fourth of its original amount, in want of provisions, unclad, and without tents, although winter had commenced, suffering from sickness, and broken-spirited from defeat and misfortune. We find him thus, retreating through the state of New Jersey, before lord Cornwallis, by far the ablest of the British officers, at the head of an overwhelming force, healthy, flushed with victory, and supplied with the necessaries and munitions of war. Add to this, that the American people, in all parts of the country, were beginning to despond, and even the bravest were almost ready to abandon the contest, and stipulate terms of safety with the conqueror.

In this state of things, and a more cheerless and threatening one can scarcely be imagined, the soul of Washington, if not actually serene, was calm, steady, and undismayed: he was, literally, the stay and support of his army. Without his spirits to sustain it, and the point of attraction he formed in the midst of it, in consequence of the love and veneration it bore him, an utter and immediate dissolution of it would have ensued.

It was at this gloomy conjuncture of American affairs, that, to the joy and astonishment of his bleeding and almost subjugated country, the full extent of his resources as a commander burst forth at once as the brightness of the sun from the bosom of an eclipse.

On the 25th of December, the weather being extremely cold, the British and American forces were

separated only by the river Delaware, the former being encamped in three divisions on the Jersey shore, at Trenton, Bordenton and Burlington; the latter, on the Pennsylvania shore, immediately opposite, to watch their movements, and act accordingly. "Now," said Washington, "is the time to clip their wings, when they are so widely spread." At the head of a detachment of about 2400 Americans, many of them militia, he projected an attack on the post at Trenton, consisting of 1500 Hessians, and a small squadron of British horse.

The passage of the intervening stream, swollen and rapid from a late fall of rain, and filled with large masses of floating ice, presented an enterprise dangerous and appalling. But nothing could intimidate the soul, or shake the deliberate resolution of Washington, who, in the present instance, had successfully infused his spirit into his troops. The perils of the river were entirely forgotten in the glory anticipated on its eastern bank.

Early in the evening of Christmas day the detachment was in motion, but such were the difficulties and delays of their passage of the Delaware, that they were not ready until 4 o'clock of the following morning to take up their march on the Jersey shore.

Divided into two columns, one of which was led by the commander in chief, they advanced in silence on the post of the enemy, attacked it almost at the same moment, and, after a short resistance, carried it with a very slight loss, killing and capturing about 900 men.

To the British, who had heretofore been victorious in every thing, this was not only an unexpected, but a heavy and a mortifying stroke; to the Americans it was the day-star of reviving hope. It convinced the former that they were not invincible; and the latter, that they were able to fight and conquer.

On the evening of the same day, Washington returned to the Pennsylvania side of the river, for the safe-keeping of his prisoners, and having disposed of

them in places of security, with orders to treat them with great kindness, recrossed into Jersey, and took a position in the village of Trenton.

To retrieve the loss, and efface the stain which the royal arms had experienced in the capture of the Hessians, lord Cornwallis assembling the whole of his forces at Painceton, moved towards the encampment of the Americans, with a view to compel them to an immediate action.

It was essential that Washington should avoid this, as he was by far too feeble to meet his adversary in open combat; yet, to do it by a retreat, would hazard the city of Philadelphia, and check the reviving hope and confidence with which his late success had inspired his countrymen. He resolved, therefore, in a council of his officers, on another high and daring adventure.

On the evening of the 2d of January, 1777, the two hostile armies found themselves posted within the village of Trenton, seperated only by a small stream of water; the Americans having in their rear the river Delaware, swollen with a fresh, filled with floating ice, and therefore of difficult passage, and the British forces within musket shot in their front, lord Cornwallis felt assured that they could not now escape, but would be compelled of necessity to meet him in battle. Under this persuasion he encamped for the night, determined on action early in the morning. The Americans also pitched their tents, and kindled fires, as preparatory to repose.

But in a situation so perilous, when enterprise invited him, Washington had other views than that of rest. At Princeton, ten miles in the rear of the enemy, was posted a large detachment of British troops. To attack this by surprise, not to encounter the main body, was now the object of the American commander.

The better to conceal his movements, and prevent suspicion, he appointed a guard, to keep the fires burning, and, within hearing of the British sentinels, to counterfeit the duties of military watch. These ar-

rangements being made, he took up, in silence, about the hour of midnight, the line of march, and passing unnoticed the left flank of the enemy, reached their post at Princeton a little before sunrise.

The conflict which ensued was severe and sanguinary. The Philadelphia militia being placed in front, fell back on receiving the British fire, and were on the point of producing confusion among the regulars.—The moment was critical—pregnant perhaps with the fate of freedom. Perceiving that every thing was at stake, Washington advanced in person towards the British line, regardless of the bullets that were flying around him, and authoritatively called on his troops to follow him.

The movement was decisive. Seeing their venerated commander in danger, and determined to support him or perish in the attempt, the militia halted, and returned the enemy's fire, while the regulars rushed to the charge with a spirit that bore down all opposition. After a short resistance the British fled from the field, and were pursued by the Americans for several hours.

The loss of the enemy in killed, wounded, and prisoners, amounted to six hundred; the Americans had sixty-four killed, and about one hundred and twenty wounded. Among the former was the gallant general Mercer.

So completely in this affair did general Washington elude the vigilance of the enemy in Trenton, that they were preparing in the morning to attack him in his encampment at that place, when they heard the report of his cannon at Princeton.

In his march by night on this occasion, it is difficult to resist the belief that Washington acted under a special Providence.

For a few days previously the weather having been warm and rainy, the roads were so deep and heavy as to be scarcely practicable for artillery and wagons.—But on the evening of the 2d, several hours before the

Americans moved from their position, the clouds were dispersed, the wind shifted to the northwest, and the cold became so severe as suddenly to freeze the roads, and render them passable with ease and expedition. This occurrence, common and without weight as it may appear to many, had no small influence on the affairs of America. It strengthened confidence, and augmented exertion, by inducing the pious, very generally, to believe, that it was a manifest token of the smiles of Heaven on the arms of freedom.

It is not extravagant to assert, that the victories of Trenton and Princeton were decisive of the issue of the existing war. They procured for the United States the alliance of France and the friendship of other powers and by convincing the American people of the competency of their armies, encouraged them to endure privations and persevere in the contest.

But, under Providence, Washington was the author of these victories; to him, therefore, with the same limitation, we are compelled to attribute the ultimate achievement of the independence of America.

Retiring now with his suffering army into winter quarters, he made so judicious an arrangement of posts, as to prevent his troops from being attacked or insulted by superior numbers, and at the same time to protect the country from the depredations of the enemy.

The campaign of 1777 opened in New Jersey with a fair trial of military skill between the American and British commanders: the former determined to avoid, the latter to bring on, a general action. In this contest Washington manifested a great superiority. Without either retreating or sheltering himself behind his works, he moved so circumspectly, and selected his positions with such consumate judgment, that his adversary, although possessed of nearly treble his force, did not dare to attack him. So vigilant and active too were his scouts and small detachments, that the British foraging parties could rarely penetrate into the country to any distance from their main body without being assaulted, and frequently captured.

Baffled in his attempts against the American army, and dreading the effects of some new and successful enterprise of Washington, general Howe embarked in the month of July with his whole army, and touched first at Halifax, sailed afterwards to the south, and landed at the head of the Chesapeake bay about the middle of August. The capture of Philadelphia was now his object.

To prevent this if possible, to gratify what he knew to be the expectation of his country, and in obedience to the express desire of Congress, rather than from the dictates of his own judgment, Washington, on the 9th of September, fought the celebrated battle of Brandywine.

This was not only the most general, but from the amount of what was staked on it, the most important action, that had occurred since the commencement of the war.

Although the effective force of the American commander was considerably inferior to that of the British victory appeared, at one moment, to be within his grasp, by means of a daring movement which he was on the point of executing; but, from false intelligence at that instant brought to him, which had the effect of producing a momentary delay, the opportunity for action was lost, and with it the chance of victory.

But the misfortune of the day detracted nothing from the reputation of Washington. From a conviction that he had done every thing within the scope of the means at his disposal to deserve success, the confidence of his country in him remained unshaken. So indefatigable and effective were his exertions to repair whatever disasters he had sustained, that he even attained, in public estimation, a higher standing. He, whose firmness appeared to be augmented by defeat, was deemed invincible. To convince the American people, that neither his own nor the spirit of his army was in the slightest degree broken by the affair of Brandywine, he shortly afterwards offered battle, which general Howe thought proper to decline.

The enemy was now in possession of Philadelphia, with a strong division as an advanced guard in the village of Germantown.

That post general Washington attempted to carry by assault on the 4th of October.

For a time the action was desperate and bloody. The attack was planned with the judgement of a great captain; but the several divisions of the assailants being prevented from acting in concert by the fogginess of the morning which obscured their vision, and other accidents occurring, from the irregular movements of bodies of troops but imperfectly disciplined, the enterprise, which promised at its commencement a glorious issue, proved unsuccessful.

For his noble daring, however, on this occasion; the wisdom of his measures, which the fortune of war prevented him from accomplishing; the fortitude with which he met disaster, and his abundant resources manifested in repairing it; for his "great good conduct" in the whole affair, Washington received from Congress a vote of thanks.

Shortly after the battle of Germantown, another trial of skill in military movement occurred between him and general Howe in the neighbourhood of Whitemarsh. In this, as in a former instance, the latter was surpassed; and, to escape the effect of some deep-laid scheme of adventure, returned precipitately to his post in Philadelphia, without effecting any of the objects for which he had left it.

The succeeding winter, general Washington passed in winter quarters at the Valley Forge. While here he was assailed with whatever could distress, embarass and disgust. An army naked, unpaid, frequently almost in a state of famine, and at times of mutiny; a Congress shattered in its energies, and slow and enfeebled in its measures by division and discord; and a malignant faction plotting his deposition from the supreme command—these were some of the evils which, during the winter of 1777-8, tried the patience and

firmness of Washington. But they could not subdue him.

For the wants of his army, he provided, considering his means, to the utmost extent of what humanity could perform: into Congress he endeavored, somewhat successfully, to infuse a spirit of unanimity, by awakening their patriotism, and faithfully portraying to them the dangers of their country: and, to the machinations of those who were meditating his degradation, he opposed, in silence, the rectitude of his views, the services he had performed, and the unsullied purity and weight of his reputation. None of their secret insinuations did he deign to notice; to none of their open accusations, did he condescend to reply.

In evry thing he had the peculiar felicity to triumph. His troops were kept in service, and restrained from mutinous conduct, by their attachment to his person, and their gratitude for his paternal cares, and unremitting exertions to provide for their wants; Congress adopted many of the salutary measures he recommended for the defence of the country; and the party of malcontents, who were bent on his overthrow, frustrated in all their schemes of intrigue, sunk beneath the weight of public odium, and the secret reproaches of offended conscience.

With the return of spring opened the campaign of 1778, the British, now under the command of sir Henry Clinton, within their lines, the Americans in well selected positions around them. Having been, for some time, in the condition, and suffering most of the inconveniences of an actual siege, the former were induced, on the 17th and 18th of June, to abandon Philadelphia and march towards the north.

In their retreat through New Jersey, general Washington galled them exceedingly, by pressing on their rear, and was anxious to compel them to a general engagement. In this he was opposed by a majority of his officers. Indulging, however, his disposition to enterprise, because he now thought his effective force

but little inferior to that of his adversary, and assuming to himself the entire responsibility in relation to the event, he adopted such measures as effected his purpose.

On the 28th of June, he brought the enemy to action, on the plains of Monmouth. After a day of sanguinary conflict, and a scene of fatigue which proved mortal, of itself, to many of the soldiers, night suspended their operations and the troops, on both sides, rested on their arms, on the field of battle.

General Washington, himself, in the midst of his soldiers, the earth, spread with his cloak, his bed, the root of a large tree his pillow, and its branches his only covering from the heavens, reposed a few hours, resolved on a renewal of battle in the morning. But in this he was disappointed by an unexpected measure, dictated by the prudence of the British commander.

Crippled by the combat of the preceding day, and dreading some more serious disaster on the next, general Clinton retreated in the night in such perfect silence, that the American sentinels, posted within musket shot of his lines, were ignorant of his movement.

Content with the advantage he had already gained, and willing to indulge his soldiers in a longer repose, after a day of such excessive fatigue, general Washington declined the persuit of his vanquished adversary.

The Americans lost in this engagement, in killed and wounded, two hundred and fifty men; the British in killed, wounded, and prisoners, three hundred and fifty.

During the remainder of the present campaign, and the whole of those of 1779 and 1780, it was not the fortune of the commander in chief to be personally concerned in any very splendid military achievement. But his great and patriotic mind was not the less actively or usefully engaged, in superintending the highest interests of his country.

His correspondence alone, during this period, with

Congress, the governors of states, and the generals and other officers, commanding divisions, detachments, and posts, would seem to be more than the business of an individual. But, to a man of a vigorous and practical intellect, who recognizes no value in time, except the useful employment of it, a sphere of duties too extensive for performance, can scarcely be presented.

The war had raged for some time in the south. From that quarter, lord Cornwallis, in 1781, at the head of an army of ten thousand chosen troops, advanced towards the middle states, and, about the close of the summer, took post in Yorktown, in the state of Virginia. Sir Henry Clinton, with a strong garrison under his command, was in possession of New York. General Washington, with a combined army of Americans and French, was preparing to lay siege to that city, and admiral count De Grasse, arriving from France with a powerful fleet, took command of the waters of the Chesapeake Bay.

Here was an excellent state of things, for a grand display of military policy. Nor did Washington suffer the opportunity to pass unimproved.

Having succeeded, by means of an intercepted letter, in convincing the British commander, in New York, of his fixed determination to besiegethat garrison, he moved by easy marches to the south, with a view to operate against lord Cornwallis; and was so far on his route, before his actual intentions were fathomed by general Clinton, that no impediment could be thrown in his way by that officer. Thus did he again evince a manifest superiority in military skill.

On the 28th of September, general Washington, at the head of 16,000 French and American troops, made a regular investure of Yorktown, where lord Cornwallis lay strongly fortified. Count de Grasse, at the same time, so completely obstructed all access by water, that through that channel his lordship could neither escape nor receive succour.

Thus commenced the celebrated siege, which ter-

minated on the 19th October, in the surrender of lord Cornwallis and his whole army. Every important measure and movement connected with it, passed under the immediate inspection of Washington. The entire sceme of the campaign was his; and never, perhaps, in any age or country, has one been devised with more wisdom, or executed with a sounder judgement.

For the excellence of their conduct on this occasion, general Washington, with his officers and soldiers, received the unanimous thanks of Congress.

This was the last achievement of arms in which it was his fortune to be ever engaged. In itself it was brilliant; in its consequences most important. It gave peace to his country; shed a higher lustre on the American name; and, in relation to himself, completed his reputation as a great captain.

In the winter of 1781-2, when the American troops lay in quarters on the North river, a spirit of wild discontent began to prevail among them, in consequence of Congress withholding from them the arrearages of their pay. The embers of revolt, which were glowing already, were, at one moment, near being blown into a devouring flame, by some artful and eloquent letters from an unknown pen, circulated among the officers, as well as the soldiery, urging them by all the motives to action, arising out of suffering, beggary, and scorn, to appeal from the justice to the fears of Congress, and assert their claims, if longer refused, at the point of the bayonet.

At this most critical and eventful conjuncture, when the sword of civil war seemed half unsheathed, Washington was again the protector of his country. Assembling around him his field officers and captains, he addressed them, in a strain of patriotic eloquence, which proved irresistible. Keen as were their present sufferings, and gloomy their future prospects, as anticipated poverty, with its distressing effects and galling concomitants could render them, they became, for the moment, insensible to them all, and passed, before dis-

persing, a unanimous resolution, to refrain from violent measures themselves to discountenance it in others and, for the settlement of their claims to trust to the justice of Congress and their country. It was the personal influence of the commander in chief, the love and veneration his officers bore him, much more than any other consideration, that gained for patriotism a triumph so glorious.

On the conclusion of peace, which soon afterwards took place, Washington, to preserve unsullied the reputation of the soldiery, and prevent the mischiefs that might result from lawless combinations of them, still in possession of their arms, adopted principles in the disbanding of his army which manifested in him great judgement, and a profound knowledge of human nature.

Having passed a few days in New York, he took a solemn and affecting leave of his officers, who had fondly lingered around him for the purpose; and proceeded to Annapolis, in Maryland, where Congress was in session, to resign his commission into the hands that had bestowed it.

In passing through Philadelphia, he exhibited to the comptroller of accounts, a statement, in his own hand writing, of all his expenditures, as commander in chief, during an eight years war. Including secret service money, they amounted to 14,476*l.* 18*s.* 9*d.* sterling; a sum greatly below the privileges of his rank and inconceivably disproportioned to the good it had been instrumental in procuring for his country.

The scene of his resignation, at Annapolis, of the supreme command of the armies of his country, was august and moving. He accompanied it with an eloquent and impressive congratulatory address, on the achivement of independence and the conclusion of peace, which was reciprocated in a suitable and dignified reply by the president of Congress. Although he thus voluntarily, and with sentiments of peculiar gratification, laid aside the character of the

highest officer of the United States, it was not in his power to divest himself of that of her foremost citizen. The former attribute having been bestowed on him by man, was accidental and temporary; the latter, being the gift of Heaven, was incorporated in his nature, and lasting as his existence.

Happy in himself, from a recollection of the labors and dangers he had passed, and an anticipation of future tranquility and enjoyment; an object of the love and admiration of his country; the idol of the officers and soldiers he had commanded; and, bearing with him the gratitude and blessings of a liberated people, he now withdrew to his seat on the Potomac, and resumed his domestic and agricultural pursuits, resolved, never again to mingle in the tumults, or encounter the solicitudes of public life.

But from this determination future events compelled him, from a sense of duty, to depart. Endowed with every requisite to lead in civil, no less than in military life, his country had not yet received from him all the services he was qualified to perform. Contrary, therefore, to what he once considered an inflexible resolution, he felt himself again obligated to obey her call, and exchange, for her welfare, the retirement he loved, for the toils and responsibility of public station.

We accordingly find him by the unanimous suffrage of his colleagues, president of the convention of delegates, which met in Philadelphia in the year 1787, with a view to strengthen and render more effective the federal union, and the deliberations of which resulted in the formation of our present constitution.

On the adoption of that instrument by the several states, the eyes of America and Europe were instinctively turned to him as the first president.

He did not, however, consent to serve in that capacity, until after much and very serious deliberation. But urged by letters from all quarters, and convinced, at length, that duty imperiously demanded of him the

sacrifice, he suffered himself to be nominated for the office, which was conferred on him by the unanimous vote of the electors. Thus, singular in every thing, it was not even permitted him to shun the public honors in the gift of his fellow citizens, although he exerted himself as zealously to avoid being invested with them as other individuals do to obtain them.

The first Congress under the federal constitution, met in New York on the 4th of March 1789.

On his way thither to be inducted into the office of chief magistrate, Washington was received at the towns and cities through which he had to pass, with all the marks of honour and distinction a grateful and enlightened people could bestow. Gratulatory addresses were every where presented to him. The streets and highways were thronged with exulting and admiring thousands, anxious to behold the elect of his country. Triumphal arches were erected for him, and the materials of which they were composed preserved as relics of invaluable worth; crowns of laurel were placed on his head, by machinery ingeniously constructed for the purpose: odes, composed for the occasion and commemorative of his high and heroic achievements, were chanted in his presence; the aged approached him with their prayers and benedictions; and, by the hands of innocence, youth and beauty, flowers were collected and strewed in the way.

Never, in honour of any individual, did the world, as is firmly believed, behold a burst of joy so universal, so exquisite, and so sincere. To kings and emperors, the homage of their subjects is ostentatious and loud; but, as if paid to them in mockery, it is cold, counterfeit, and foreign from the affections. That to Washington, from his fellow citizens and countrymen, being an offering of unfeigned veneration, was spontaneous, genuine, and warm from the heart.

This representations of the scenes that occurred, although to some, perhaps, it may appear exaggerated, if not fictitious, is short of reality. No language can

competently picture the exuberance of rejoicing, heightened by the play of the nobler affections, and constituting a perfect jubilee of soul, which the great and interesting event excited.

Having been invested with the office of chief magistrate, with the form and solemnities suitable to the occasion, he entered, without delay, on the arduous and responsible duties appertaining to it.

The organization of a government for a great and growing empire, where conflicting interests are to be reconciled and provided for; where, at home, the spirit of freedom is to be fostered and confirmed, yet restrained from passing to the extreme of licentiousness; to establish foreign relations with nations formidable in arms, skilled in diplomacy, and ambitious of power and wealth, without being scrupulous as to the means of attaining them; to institute a sceme of revenue, sufficiently productive, yet not oppressive; to select individuals, at so portentous a conjuncture, qualified to fill the offices of state: these are some of the high functions, in all of which it became now the province of Washington to co-operate in many of them to direct; and it must be confessed, that, for their due fulfilment, they require an intellect of the highest order, expanded and matured, by all that observation and experience, reflection and study, are calculated to impart

Of the wisdom and policy of the measures of his administration, their felicitous effects on the condition of his country constitute testimony ample and conclusive.

Industry, in every shape, began immediately to revive and be invigorated. Commerce became active; agriculture prosperous; the sphere of arts and manufactures extended; and literature and science began to flourish.

For an analysis of his administration, sufficient space cannot be allowed in this sketch. It may be permitted, however, briefly to observe, that the hostile tribes of Indians on our western frontiers, were subdued

or conciliated; existing difficulties with foreign nations were honourably adjusted; public credit was restored; treaties of amity and commerce were formed, on advantageous terms; and, as the result of the whole, the country was peaceful, prosperous and happy.

Of the administration of Washington, we may truly say, with a late writer, that it was "founded in justice, organized by wisdom, directed by virtue, and guarded by honor. Abroad it could not fail to command respect, nor to be productive of extensive utility at home. It was a spectacle in polititical ethics, worthy to fix the attention and command the admiration of the rulers of nations. Ministers might be instructed by it in the art of governing, and monarchs learn how to give splendor and stability to thrones. For the liberality of its views, the soundness of its principles, the correctness of its details, and the dignified grandeur and firmness of its march, it was a chef d'ouvre of human achievement."

The close of the second constitutional period of his administration terminated the presidential career of Washington. Although assured, from all quarters, of easy success should he consent to continue in the service of his country, he resolutely declined being again considered a candidate for the office. Of him may be said, what is not, perhaps, true of any other mortal, that, after a trial of eight years, during a most stormy period of the world, when difficulties pressed on him from every direction, he retired from a station derived from the people, and supreme in responsibility and care, his reputation without a stain, and the confidence of his constituents in him undiminished.

He continued in office till the 4th of March, 1797, when he attended the inauguration of his successor, Mr. Adams, and with complacency saw him invested with the powers, which had for so long a time been exercised by himself. He then retired to Mount Vernon.

Notwithstanding his maturity in glory, and weight of years, he again, in 1798, stood prepared to emerge from the shades of his chosen retirement, and assume the chief command of the armies of America, against an invasion meditated by France; but, peace taking place without any attempt on the part of the enemy, he did not actually appear in arms. On accepting, at this time the appointment to supreme command, he stipulated with government not to take the field, unless, from the approach of the foe, his services should be wanted. His willingness to submit to the sacrifice, sustain the privation, encounter the duties, and incur the risk appertaining to this station, manifests in him a degree of pure, magnanimous, and disinterested patriotism, which, in the history of man, is no where else to be found.

We are now approaching to an event that consummated the glory of Washington, by placing it beyond the power of time to diminish or misfortune to tarnish it.

On Friday, December 13, 1799, while attending some improvements on his estate, he was exposed to a light rain, which wetted his neck and hair. Unapprehensive of danger, he passed the afternoon in his usual manner, but at night he was attacked with an inflammatory affection of the throat, so obstinate, and at the same time, so violent was the disease, that notwithstanding all that medicine could perform, it terminated fatally on the following night.

His death scene was like his life, calm, intrepid, full of self possession, and free from complaint.

Perceiving the inefficacy of medical aid, and convinced from his feelings that dissolution was approaching, he requested of his friends and attendants around him permission to die without further interruption.

Assent to this request being signified by silence and tears, he undressed himself without the least emotion, placed himself in bed in a suitable attitude, closed his eyes with his own hand, and expired without a struggle or a groan.

The melancholy event was soon announced in every quarter of the United States. The manifestation of public sorrow was without a parallel. Six millions of people felt, on the occasion, the affliction of a family for the loss of a parent.

Congress was in session in the city of Philadelphia. No sooner did the rumour of the visitation reach them, than, rendered by the shock unfit for business, they immediately adjourned.

On the morning of the following day they again met, when the mournful intelligence being fully confirmed, chief justice Marshall, then member of the house of representatives, formally announced the event in a very solemn, impressive, and suitable address.

It was in a resolution, moved by him on the occasion, that in language so forcible, characteristic, and correct, suggested to him, as he acknowledged, by Gen. Harry Lee, he pronounced the deceased, "first in war, first in peace, and first in the hearts of his fellow citziens."

Letters of Condolence passed between the different branches of the government, and, by a unanimous resolution of Congress, a magnificent funeral procession took place the following week, and an eulogy was prepared and pronounced on the occasion by general Lee, of Virginia, commemorative of the character and achievements of the deceased.

This was but the commencement of the public honors that were paid by his country to the memory of Washington. In various other places similar processions were formed, and in every section of the union funeral sermons were preached, eulogies delivered, and elegies written, until the whole population appeared to unite in one universal offering of homage to the man, who had given to them independence, freedom, and a government.

Nor did Europe withhold her tribute of praise. Some of the ablest pens and most eloquent tongues in

that quarter of the globe were liberal in their eulogies on "*the man of the age.*" While living, no individual ever stood higher in the estimation of the world, nor has received, as I confidently believe, so ample a meed of posthumous applause.

In his public capacity, Washington may be contemplated in the light of a warrior, a statesman and a writer.

In the first he possessed in an eminent degree all the attributes, corporeal and intellectual, requisite in a commander of the highest order.

In his appearance alone he carried the prerogative of supreme authority, no man could approach him free from sentiments of inferiority and awe. Yet, this did not arise from the sternness of his aspect, or the severity of his manners. It was the result of a combination of majestic qualities which, whether motionless or in action, he uniformly although unconsciously exhibited.

As a military leader, there exists in history no name with which he can be aptly and in all respects compared. In the happy mixture of deliberate caution and daring enterprise which he manifested in his character, he appears to have been unique. His fortitude and perseverance were in some respects no less dangerous to his adversary than his courage and address.

In prudence and foresight he had no superior and but few equals. Notwithstanding the vigilant, artful, and able enemies, with whom he had often to contend, he never, when commanding in person, was surprised, seduced into an ambuscade, or compelled to give battle on disadvantageous ground. Yet his own success was frequently owing to a sudden and unlooked-for attack on his foe. This circumstance is the more remarkable and worthy to be recorded, seeing that, when but a youth, he often commanded small parties on the very lines of the enemy, where ambuscade and surprise must have been frequently attempted.

His firmness and self possession in the midst of

disaster, united to the vast extent of his resources, enabled him not unfrequently to turn to his advantage even misfortune and defeat.

But the great strength of his military character consisted in his singular capacity to blind and mislead, in relation both to his forces and movements, and to adapt his conduct with wonderful precision to the state of his own means and the resources of his enemy. When in a condition to give battle with a prospect of success, no leader ever offered it with a spirit of higher gallantry, or staked more liberally his reputation and fortunes on the issue of the sword. But, if on a deliberate calculation the chances were against him, no art nor insult—not even the impatient murmurings and insinuations that he wanted energy of his own party, could force him to engage; In the battle of Brandywine alone did he ever depart from this principle. Even here it was the will of Congress rather than the impatience or importunity of the public that urged him to action.

It was this capacity, the highest unquestionably a commander can possess, that led him with success and glory through the war of the revolution. Without it, he would have wasted to no purpose the resources of his country, and ruined by misconduct the cause of freedom.

As a statesman and a patriot he surpassed all others in the purity of his motives, and in the steadiness, warmth, and disinterestedness of his attachment to his country. No mortal except himself ever served his fellow citizens without emolument or any acquisition of power, for the space of sixteen years, in the most elevated offices in their power to bestow.

In this capacity his views were liberal, and his knowledge, derived much less from books than from observation, and a thorough acquaintance with man, was extensive, profound, and altogether practical. He had learned to govern by studying

well the nature and character of the beings to be governed.

Superior to party prejudices and local partialities, justice was the basis, and public good the end of his administration. As president of the United States, every section of his country was equally an object of his vigilant attention and paternal solicitude. The east and west, and the north and the south, experienced alike the kindness of his heart and the meliorating influence of his great mind. As chief magistrate of *the nation*, the nation and all its interests were his care.

Towards foreign governments, his conduct was regulated by the established principles of international law. While for their rights and interests he cherished and manifested a sacred regard, he exacted from them an inviolable observance of a similar conduct towards the United States. In all his transactions, whether domestic or foreign, justice, impartiality, and good faith, were conscientiously maintained. He appeared to hold himself responsible in his private character for any departure from right as a public functionary.

To scolarship, in the common acceptation of the term, he had no pretensions. Yet, for talents as a writer on those subjects to which his attention had been directed he had few equals. In letter writing and public addresses he furnished one of the highest models in the English language. Of all the most truly valuable qualities of style, perspicuity, purity, strength, and dignity, he was a perfect master. With an aptitude which characterised him in all things, the tone of his writings rose or fell, with the greater or less weight and elevation of his subjects. Compared with some of his addresses to his army, those of any other commander at present recollected are barren and feeble. No allusion is here made to the glowing speeches prepared for certain favorite chiefs by the historians of their campaigns, but to those which the leaders themselves have produced. Yet it may be safely asserted, that some

of the military addresses of Washington will not suffer in a comparison even with the harangue of Galgacus, from the pen of Tacitus, the finest specimen of field eloquence that antiquity has bequeathed us.

Analyse the general character of our great countryman, and its principal elements will be found to be, firmness, dignity, strength, and moderation, constituting in the aggregate a sublime monument of moral grandeur. With less of brilliancy than falls to the share of many others, it consists of a much greater mass of solid, practical, and useful qualities, and is therefore better calculated to produce on society a deep felicitous and enduring effect.

To attain this moderation his difficulties had been great and his struggles arduous. His passions having been originally modelled on the same scale, and possessed of the same Herculean strength, with the powers of his intellect, to bring them into perfect subjection and rule had cost him the severest conflict of his life. But, as the hardest and most refractory bodies assume, when polished, the highest lustre, the calm of his passions, now subdued, was deep and ponderous, like that of the ocean, which nothing but the force of the tempest can disturb.

In his private and domestic relations his character excited in all around him veneration and love. His virtues, as a man, were conformable in lustre to his higher qualities as a first magistrate and a military chief.

With a person, six feet two inches in stature, expanded, muscular, of elegant proportions, and unusually graceful in all its movements; a head moulded somewhat on the model of the Grecian antique, features sufficiently prominent for strength or comeliness; a Roman nose, and large blue eyes, deeply thoughtful rather than lively; with these attributes, the appearance of Washington was striking and august. A fine complexion being superadded, he was accounted, when young, one of the handsomest of men.

But his majesty consisted in the expression of his countenance much more than in his comely features, his lofty person, or his dignified deportment. It was the emanation of his great spirit through the tenement it occupied.

Such was Washington; the champion of freedom, the glory of his country, the founder and father of a great empire, the pride of modern times, the ornament of the human race.

LIFE OF FRANKLIN.

Benjamin Franklin, L. L. D. an American philosopher and politician of high celebrity, was born at Boston, New England, in the year 1706. He was the youngest son of Josiah Franklin, a silk dyer in Northamptonshire, who, on account of the persecutions carried on in the reign of Charles the Second against the Nonconformists, removed to America, where he embraced the occupation of a soapboiler and tallow-chandler, reared a numerous family by honest industry, and was distinguished among his townsmen as a person of sound judgment and sober piety. His other sons were put apprentices to different trades; but Benjamin was destined for the church, and, at the age of eight years, was sent to a grammar school. He was removed, however, at the end of the first year, to a school for writing and arithmetic; and at ten years of age was taken home to assist in his father's occupation.

From his earliest years he discovered a passionate love of reading, especially the accounts of voyages; and he mentions Plutarch's Lives, and De Foe's Essay on Projects, as among the few books of general information to which he had access. This inclination for books, and the strong aversion which he showed

to the occupation of his father, suggested the plan of binding him apprentice to one of his brothers, who had established a printing house at Boston. In this situation, he had an opportunity of procuring better books, and pursued his studies with such avidity, that he frequently spent the whole night in reading. He soon began to commit his own thoughts to writing; and by making summaries of papers from the Spectator, which he afterwards endeavoured to expand, from recollection, into their original form, he laboured to improve his style without any other instructor. With a passion for reading and writing, he imbibed a kindred one for disputation, and adopting the Socratic method, he became dexterous in confuting and confounding an antagonist by a series of questions. This course gave him a sceptical turn with regard to religion; and while he was young he took opportunity of propagating his tenets, and with as much zeal as is shown by a new convert to any other doctrine. He was, however, soon convinced, by the effect produced on some of his companions, that it was extremely dangerous to loosen the ties of religion, without the probability of substituting other principles equally efficacious. The doubts which subsisted in his own mind he was, perhaps, never fully able to remove; but he was not deficient in fortifying himself with such moral principles, as directed him to the most valuable ends by honourable means. He, by habits of self denial, early formed in his mind, obtained a complete dominion over his appetites, so that at the age of sixteen he readily discarded animal food, from the conviction produced in his mind by perusing a work on the subject. He now proposed to his brother, that if he would allow him per week one half of what was paid for his board, he would undertake to maintain himself. Out of this little fund he contrived to purchase books, as well as to pay for his subsistence, and, by his new mode of living, saved much time for his favourite pursuits.

Receiving some ill treatment from his brother, he determined to leave Boston, and seek employment elsewhere. The brother had set up a newspaper, in which the apprentice contrived to insert some papers and essays anonymously, that were read and highly commended by persons of the best judgement and taste in the town. The young man began now to feel his importance, which was still more impressed on him by having the paper published in his own name that of his brother, for some political offence, having been interdicted by the state. In consequence of this, his indentures were cancelled. He went on board a sloop, and soon arrived at New York. Finding no employment here, he pursued his way to Philadelphia and entered the city destitute of friends, and with only a dollar in his pocket. There were at this time two printers in Philadelphia, Mr. Andrew Bradford, and Mr. Keimer; by the latter of whom he was employed. Sir William Keith, the governor, having been informed that Franklin was a young man of promising talents, invited him to his house, treated him in the most friendly manner, and urged him to set up for himself; at the same time assuring him of his support and protection. Franklin attempted to gain pecuniary aid from his parents, but was disappointed. The governor then persuaded him to make a voyage to England, to furnish himself with all the necessaries for a new printing office. He embraced the proposal, and accompanied by his friend Ralph, he sailed for England in 1725. Before his departure, he exchanged promises of fidelity with Miss Read of Philadelphia, with whose father he had lodged.

Upon his arrival in London, Mr. Franklin found that governor Keith, upon whose letters of credit and recommendation he had relied, had entirely deceived him. He was now obliged to work as a journeyman printer, and obtained employment in an office in Bartholomew-close. His friend did not so readily find the means of subsistence, and was a constant drain upon the earnings of Franklin. In this great city the

morals of the young travellers were not much improved: Ralph forgot, or acted as if he had forgotten, that he had a wife and child across the Atlantic; and Franklin was as little attentive to the promises and engagements he was under to Miss Read. About this period he published "A Dissertation on Liberty and Necessity, Pleasure and Pain," dedicated to Ralph, and intended as an answer to Woolaston's "Religion of Nature." This piece gained for him some degree of reputation, and introduced him to the acquaintance of Dr. Mandeville, author of the "Fable of the Bees," and some other literary characters. Franklin was always temperate and industrious, and his habits in these respects were eventually the means of securing his morals, as well as of raising his fortune. In the interesting account which he has left us of his own life, Mr. Franklin has given a narrative of the method which he took in reforming the sottish habits of his fellow workmen in the second printing office in which he was engaged in London, and which was situated in the neighborhood of Lincoln's-in-fields. He tried to persuade them that there was more real sustenance in a penny roll than in a pint of porter. At first the plan of economy which he proposed was treated with contempt or ridicule, but in the end he was able to induce several of them to substitute a warm and nourishing breakfast in the place of stimulating liquors.

In 1726 he returned to Philadelphia, where he first engaged himself as a clerk in a mercantile house; and in the course of a year he became the superintendant of Keimer's printing office, where he acquired so much esteem and so far improved his connexions, that he resolved to embark in business for himself. He entered into partnership with a fellow workman, named Meredith, whose friends were enabled to furnish a supply of money sufficient for the concern, which was no doubt very small; for Franklin has recorded the high degree of pleasure which he experi-

enced from a payment of five shillings only, the first fruits of their earnings. "The recollection," says this noble spirited man, "of what I felt on this occasion, has rendered me more disposed, than perhaps I might otherwise have been, to encourage young beginners in trade." His habitual industry and undeviating punctuality obtained him the notice and business of the principal people in the place. He instituted a club under the name of "The Junto," for the purpose of the discussion of political and philosophical questions, which proved an excellent school for the mutual improvement of its several members. The test proposed to every candidate before his admission was this: "Do you sincerely declare that you love mankind in general, of what profession or religion soever? Do you think any person ought be harmed in his body, name, or goods, for mere speculative opinions, or his external way of worship? Do you love truth for truth's sake; and will you endeavor impartially to find and receive it yourself, and communicate it to others?" This institution was continued almost forty years, and became the foundation of the American Philosophical Society.

Mr. Franklin and his partner ventured to set up a new public paper, which his own efforts as a writer and printer caused to succeed, and they obtained likewise the printing of the votes and laws of the assembly. In process of time, Meredith withdrew from the partnership, and Franklin met with friends who enabled him to take the whole concern in his own hands, and add to it the business of a stationer. A discussion concerning a new emission of paper money taking place, he wrote an anonymous pamphlet in favour of the measure, which was received with applause, and which contributed to the success of the measure, and to the prosperity of the writer. In 1730 he married the lady to whom he had pledged his vows before he embarked for England, although, from his neglect of her, she had been before married to a man then dead.

The establishment of a public library was one of the useful projects of Franklin, which he brought to effect in the year 1731. The beneficial influence of this institution was soon evident. The cheapness of terms rendered it accessible to every one. Hence a degree of information was extended among all classes of people, which is very unusual in other places. The example was soon followed. Libraries were established in various places; and they are now become very numerous in the United States, particularly in Pennsylvania. It is hoped that they will be still more widely extended, and that information will be every where increased. This will be the best security for maintaining our liberties. A nation of well informed men, who have been taught to know and prize the rights which God has given them, cannot be enslaved. It is in the regions of ignorance alone that tyranny reigns.

In 1732, he began to publish "Poor Richard's Almanac," a work which became remarkable by the number of excellent prudential maxims occasionally inserted in it; calculated by their conciseness, to be readily and indeliby impressed on the memory. They have been since collected into a single piece, entitled, "The Way to Wealth," which has been published in a variety of forms.

The political career of Benjamin Franklin began in the year 1736, when he was appointed clerk to the general assembly of Pennsylvania; an office which he held for several years, till he was at length elected a representative. In the following year he obtained the valuable office of postmaster to the city of Philadelphia. In 1738 he improved the police of the city, with respect to the dreadful calamity of fire, by forming a society called a fire company, to which was afterwards added an insurance office against losses by fire. In the French war of 1744, he stood forth, and proposed a plan of voluntary association for defence, which was shortly joined by 10,000 persons. Frank-

lin was chosen colonel of the Philadelphia regiment, which he did not accept, on account of the pursuits in which he was then engaged.

In all important discussions in the assembly, his presence was considered as indispensable. He seldom spoke, or exhibited any oratory; but by a single observation he sometimes determined the fate of a question. In the long controversies with the proprietaries or their governors, he took the most active part, and displayed a firm spirit of liberty.

Pursuits of a different nature now (1745) began to occupy his attention. He engaged in a course of electrical experiments. Of all the branches of experimental philosophy, electricity had been least explored. The ancients had observed of some substances, that by friction they acquired the power of attracting light bodies, as down, pieces of straw, &c. To this strange property they gave the name of electricity, from *electram*, the Latin word for *amber*, which possessed this power in the highest degree. Several modern naturalists repeated the experiment; whence it was at length discovered, that sparkles of fire and streams of light were emitted from it to bodies in contact with it. The celebrated Boyle, Dr. Watson, Otto, Gruriche, and sir Isaac Newton, added some facts. In 1742, several ingenious Germans engaged in this subject. Of these the principal were, professor Boze, of Wittemberg; professor Winkler, of Leipsic; Gordon, a Scotch Benedictine monk, professor of philosophy at Erfurt; and Dr. Lunolf, of Berlin. The result of their researches astonished the European philosophers. Their apparatus was large, and by means of it they were enabled to collect large quantities of electricity, and thus to produce phenomena which had been hitherto unobserved. They killed small animals, and set spirits of wine on fire. Their experiments excited the curiosity of other philosophers. Peter Collinson had sent to the Library Society of Philadelphia, an

account of these experiments, together with an electrical instrument, and directions for its use. Franklin, with some of his friends, immediately began to apply to the subject, and in a short time he made many valuable and highly important discoveries, an account of which he published in three pieces, entitled "New Experiments and Observations in Electricity, made at Philadelphia in America." Having been led to think, that in the excitation of the electric tube, the fluid was conveyed from the person who rubbed it to him who touched it, he designated the state of the latter by the expression of being electrified *positively*, or *plus*, as having received more than his original quantity while the former was said to be electrified *negatively*, or *minus*, as having lost a part of his natural portion. This led to the discovery of the Leyden phial, the theory of which is, that when one side of the glass is electrified plus, the other side is electrified minus; so that in charging it, all that is done to throw the electricity from one side, and convey it to the other, while discharging it is the restoration of the equilibrium. He further demonstrated by decisive experiments, that the accumulated electricity in the charged side of the phial, resided not in the coating, but in the glass itself; but the most brilliant of his discoveries was that which proved the identity of the electric fluid and lightning. Their similarity had been suspected by the Abbe Nollet, and some experiments had begun to be made in France towards the verification of the fact, but Franklin completed the proof of it entirely by his own experiments. In the year 1749, he conceived the idea of explaining the phenomena of thunder gusts, and of the aurora borealis, upon electrical principles; he pointed out many particulars in which lightning and electricity agreed, and he adduced many facts, and reasonings from facts, in support of his positions. In the same year he thought of ascertaining the truth of his doctrine by drawing down the forked lightning, by means of sharp

pointed iron rods raised unto the region of the clouds. Admitting the identity of electricity, and knowing the power of points in conducting away silently the electric fluid, he suggested the idea of securing houses, ships, &c. from the damages to which they were liable from lightning, by erecting pointed iron rods, which should rise some feet above the most elevated part, and descend some feet into the ground or the water. The effect of these he, concluded, would be either to prevent a stroke by repelling the cloud beyond the striking distance, or by drawing off the electrical fluid which it contained; or, at least, conduct the stroke to the earth, without any injury to the building.

It was not till the summer of 1752, that Mr. Franklin was enabled to complete his grand experiment. The plan which he proposed was, to erect on some high tower, or elevated place, a sort of hut, from which should rise a pointed iron rod, insulated by being fixed in a cake of resin. Electrified clouds passing over this would, he conceived, impart to it a portion of their electricity, which might be rendered evident to the senses by sparks being emitted, when the knuckle or other conductor was presented to it. While he was waiting for the erection of a spire, it occurred to him, that he might have more ready access to the region of the clouds by means of a common kite; he accordingly prepared one for the purpose, affixing to the upright stick an iron point. The string was, as usual, of hemp, except the lower end, which was silk, and where the hempen part terminated, a key was fastened. With this simple apparatus, on the appearance of a thunder storm approaching, he went into the fields, accompanied by his son, to whom alone he communicated his intentions, dreading, probably, the ridicule which frequently awaits unsuccessful attempts in experimental philosophy. For some time no sign of electricity appeared; he was beginning to despair of success, when he suddenly observed the loose fibres of the string to start forward in an erect

position. He now presented the knuckle to the key, and received a strong spark. How exquisite must his sensation have been at this moment? On this experiment depended the fate of his theory. Repeated sparks were drawn from the key; a phial was charged, a shock given, and all the experiments made, which are usually performed with electricity. He immediately fixed an insulated iron rod upon his house, which drew down the lightening, and gave him an opportunity of examining whether it were positive or negative; and hence he applied his discovery to the securing of buildings from the effects of lightening.

Previously to his experiments in electricity, he applied his mechanical and philosophical knowledge to the construction of fire-places, combining the qualities of an open grate with that of a stove. As a politician he had been elected a representative of the city of Philadelphia to the general assembly of the province. His principles in favor of equality of rights led him always to take the popular side, and he quickly obtained such an influence that he was regarded as the head of the party. The ability and punctuality which he had displayed in his office of postmaster, caused him, in 1753, to be raised to the important employ of deputy-postmaster for the British colonies; and in the same year, the Acadamy of Philadelphia, projected by him, was established. In 1754, he was one of the commissioners, who attended the Congress at Albany, to devise the best means of defending the country against the French. He drew up a plan of union for defence and general government, which was adopted by the Congress. It was, however, rejected by the Board of Trade in England, because it gave too much power to the representatives of the people; and it was rejected by the assemblies of the colonies, because it gave too much power to the president general. After the defeat of Braddock, in 1755, he was appointed colonel of a regiment, and he repaired to the frontiers and built a fort. When, in

1757, the militia was to be disbanded by orders from England, he sailed for London in the capacity of Agent for Pennsylvania, the assembly of which was involved in warm disputes with the proprietary interest. After much discussion before the privy council, it was agreed, that the proprietary lands should take their share in a tax for the public service, provided that Franklin would engage that the assessment should be fairly proportioned. The measure was accordingly carried into effect, and he remained at the British court as agent for his province; and his reputation caused him also to be entrusted with the like commission from Massachusetts, Maryland, and Georgia. The molestation received by the British colonies from the French in Canada, induced him to write a pamphlet, pointing out the advantages of a conquest of that province by the English; and the subsequent expedition against it, and its retention under the British government at the peace, were, it is believed, much influenced by the force of his arguments on the subject. About this period, his talents as a philosopher were duly appreciated in various parts of Europe. He was admitted a fellow of the Royal Society of London, and was honored with the degree of doctor of Laws by the universities of St. Andrews, Edinburg, and Oxford.

He returned to America in 1762, where he received the thanks of the assembly for his services, and a remuneration for his labours undertaken and accomplished on their behalf. He resumed his seat in that body, to which he had been annually elected during his absence, and continued to distinguish himself as a friend to the cause of the people. The active part which he took against the proprietary interest, occasioned the loss of his election in 1764, but he was immediately reappointed agent for the province, and embarked again for England. It was at this period that the stamp act excited such violent commotions in America; and Dr. Franklin, almost immediately after

his return to London, was called to the bar of the House of Commons, to give evidence respecting the dispositions of the people to submit to it. His representations, in which he evinced the utmost self possession and an astonishing accuracy and extent of information, had a considerable effect in producing the repeal of that obnoxious measure.

In the years 1766 and 1767, he paid visits to Holland, Germany and France, where he met with a very distinguished reception. About the year 1773, some letters of Thomas Hutchinson, governor of Massachusetts falling into the hands of Dr. Franklin, were transmitted by him to the legislature in America, and which he did from a sense of duty as the agent of the colony, for these letters proved governor Hutchinson to be a secret enemy to his country, who stimulated the ministry to enforce their plans and who even declared to them, that "there must be an abridgement of English liberties in colonian administration." But Dr. Franklin ever refused to make known how he procured these letters. In a very short time after this he was removed from his office of postmaster general for America.

Finding all his efforts to restore harmony between Great Britain and the colonies useless, Dr. Franklin returned to America in 1775, just before the commencement of hostilities; and being named one of the delegates of the continental congress, he had the principal share in bringing about the revolution and declaration of independence on the part of America. He was sent by Congress to the camp before Boston, to confirm the army in their decisive measures, and to Canada to persuade the citizens to join in the common cause. In this mission, he was not successful. He was, in 1776, appointed a commitee with John Adams and Edward Rutledge, to inquire into the powers with which lord Howe was invested, in regard to the adjustment of our differences with Great Britain. When his lordship expressed his concern

at being obliged to distress those whom he so much regarded, Dr Franklin assured him that the Americans, out of reciprocal regard, would endeavor to lessen, as much as posssible, the pain which he might feel on their account, by taking the utmost care of themselves. Dr. Franklin was decidedly in favour of a declaration of independence, and was appointed president of the convention assembled for the purpose of establishing a new government for the state of Pensylvania. When it was determined by Congress to open a public negotiation with France, Dr. Franklin was fixed upon to go to that country, and he brought about the treaty of aliance offensive and defensive, which produced an immediate war between England and France. Dr. Franklin was one of the commissioners who, on the part of the United States, signed the provisional articles of peace in 1782, and the definitive treaty in the following year. Before he left Europe, he concluded a treaty with Sweden and Prussia. By the latter he obtained several most liberal and humane stipulations in favour of the freedom of commerce, and the security of private property during war, in conformity to those principles which he had ever maintained on these subjects. Having seen the accomplishment of his wishes in the independence of his country, he requested to be recalled, and, after repeated solicitations, Mr. Jefferson was appointed in his stead. On the arrival of his successor, he repaired to Havre de Grace, and crossing the English channel, landed at Newport in the Isle of Wight; from whence, after a favourable passage, he arrived safe at Philadelphia, in September, 1785. Here he was received amidst the acclamations of a vast and almost innumerable multitude, who had flocked from all parts to see him, and who conducted him in triumph to his own house, where in a few days he was visited by the members of Congress, and the principal inhabitants of Philadelphia. He was soon appointed president of the supreme ex-

ecutive council, and, in 1787, he was a delegate to the grand convention which formed the constitution of the United States. Some of the articles which composed it did not altogether please him, but for the sake of union he signed it. In the same year he was appointed the first president of two excellent societies which were established in Philadelphia, for alleviating the miseries of public prisons, and for promoting the abolition of slavery.

In the year 1788 the increasing infirmities of his age obliged him to ask and obtain permission to retire and spend the remainder of life in tranquillity; and on the seventeenth of April, 1790, he closed, in serenity and resignation, his active and useful life, having attained the great age of eighty-four years and three months. The following epitaph was written by himself many years previous to his death.

The body of
BENJAMIN FRANKLIN, PRINTER,
like the cover of an old, book,
its contents torn out,
and stript of its lettering and gilding,
lies here, food for worms;
Yet the work itself shall not be lost,
for it will (as he believed) appear once more
in a new
and more beautiful edition,
corrected and amended
by
THE AUTHOR.

LIFE OF RITTENHOUSE.

David Rittenhouse, L. L. D. F. R. S. the celebrated American philosopher, was descended from ancestors, who emigrated from Holland about the beginning of the last century. He was born on the 8th day of April, 1732, near Germantown, in Pennsylvania, about eight miles from Philadelphia. His father, Matthias Rittenhouse, was a native of the same place; and brought up in the occupation of a papermaker, in which he continued until the age of twenty-nine, when he moved to Norriton, now Montgomery county, and became a farmer. His mother, Elizabeth, was the daughter of Evan Williams, a native of Wales; a woman of good natural understanding, but without the advantages of education. His parents were distinguished for their probity, industry, and simple manners.

It is from sources, thus pure and retired, that those talents and virtues have been chiefly derived, which have in all ages enlightened the world. They prove by their humble origin, that the Supreme Being has not surrendered up the direction of human affairs to the advantages acquired by accident or injustice, and they bear a constant and faithful testimony of his impartial goodness, by their necessary and regular influence in equalizing the condition of mankind.

The first indications of that genius which distinguished David Rittenhouse in the world, were manifested at the age of seven, in the construction of a water mill in miniature. He was designed by his father for the pursuits of a farmer; and from his infancy was engaged in husbandry. At the age of fourteen, he was a labourer, and employed in ploughing his father's fields. At this period he more fully developed

the peculiar bent of his mind. The evidences of an uncommon intellect were exhibited in a variety of numerical figures and mathematical diagrams, chalked upon the fences, and even on the plough with which he worked. Continuing in the ordinary occupation of a husbandman, nothing further occured to illustrate his future greatness, until he was seventeen years old. He then constructed a wooden clock of ingenious mechanism; and shortly afterwards, from materials usually employed in such instruments, and upon common principles, he made a twenty four-hour clock. These machines afforded certainly very unequivocal proofs that their fabricator was no common man.

His father, not being a man of more than common mind, and not much improved by an early education, for some time opposed his son's earnest desire to renounce agricultural employments, for the purpose of devoting himself altogether to philosophical studies, in connexion with some mechanical art, that might in the interim yield a subsistence. At length, however, his objections were overcome; and he supplied his son with money to purchase such implements as were necessary to the business of clock making.

Young Rittenhouse erected on his father's land a commodious shop, and commenced to manufacture clocks and mathematical instruments. Such tools, necessary to his business, as he had not purchased, for want of money, he supplied by his own hands. Thenceforward, and until he was twenty-five, he devoted his days to his art, and his nights to philosophical studies. This incessant application shook his constitution. He was seized with a peculiar malady, which he himself described "a constant heat in the pit of his stomach, affecting a space not exceeding the size of a half guinea, and attended at times with much pain." From this sensation he was never exempted for the remainder of his life. To restore his

health, he passed several weeks at the Yellow Springs, distant but a few miles from his father's residence; bathed and drank the waters; and, from the use of this chalybeate, in some measure recruited.

Until he was nineteen years old, he had enjoyed no other opportunities of education than were furnished by common English schools, which the neighbordood of his father afforded, in which nothing beyond reading, writing, and the simple rules of arithmetic were taught.

A happy intercourse was then formed between himself and the late Rev. Thomas Barton, who afterwards married his sister, Esther Rittenhouse. Mr. Barton who had enjoyed a good education, afforded his friend the benefits of instruction of a higher order, and greatly facilitated his intellectual improvement.

Some idea may be formed of Mr. Rittenhouse's pursuits, from the following extract of a letter to his friend Mr. Barton, written when he was about the age of twenty-four; 20th September, 1756. "I have not health for a soldier; and, as I have no expectation of serving my country in that way, I am spending my time in the old manner; I am so taken with optics, that I do not know whether, if the enemy should invade this part of the country, as Archimedes was slain while making geometrical figures on the sand, so I should die making a telescope." It may be just mentioned that the country was then engaged in war, with the French and Indians.

During his residence with his father, he made himself master of Sir Isaac Newton's Principia, which he read in Mr. Motte's translation. At the same time he became acquainted with the science of fluxions, of which he, for a while, believed himself author: nor did he learn for some years afterwards, that a controversy had existed between Sir Isaac Newton and the philosopher Leibnitz, for the honor of that great and useful discovery. What a mind was here! Without the ordinary aids of education, he became the rival of

two of the greatest mathematicians in Europe, before he reached his four-and-twentieth year.

The great accuracy and exquisite workmanship, displayed in every thing belonging to his profession, that was fashioned by his hands, soon became extensively known; and the knowledge of his mechanical skill, assisted by his reputation as a mathematician and astronomer, procured him the friendship and patronage of some eminent characters. The union of almost unbounded genius, great acquirements in sublime science, and wonderful abilities in philosophical mechanism, with an amiable and virtuous character, excited that celebrity so justly attached to his name.

In the thirty-second year of his age he was employed to ascertain and fix the boundary between Pennsylvania and Maryland, according to the decree of the lord chancellor of England, directing the specific execution of an agreement between the Penn family and lord Baltimore. This service was performed with great accuracy, and much to the satisfaction of his employers.

On the 20th of February, 1766, he married Elenor Colston, daughter of Bernard Colston, a respectable farmer in his neighbourhood, of the society of Friends. On the 17th of November, of the same year, the college of Philadelphia conferred upon him the honorary degree of Master of Arts.

In the year 1769, a controversy existing between New York and New Jersey, as to boundaries, Mr. Rittenhouse was employed to terminate the dispute, by ascertaining the line which should thereafter separate them. He executed the appointment with the greatest skill and fidelity.

In January, 1769, he was one of a committee appointed by the American Philosophical Society, to observe at three different places, the transit of Venus over the sun's disk, which was expected to happen on the 3d of June following, in 40 north latitude, and 5 hours west longitude from Greenwich. As the day

approached, when this rare astronomical phenomenon was to manifest itself, public expectation and anxiety were greatly excited. Its importance to astronomy had justly drawn the attention of every civilized nation of the world. Only two transits of Venus over the sun had been observed prior to the 3d of June, 1769, since the creation of the world; and of these the first was seen but by two persons: yet the transits of Venus alone afforded the opportunity of settling the parallax of the sun, with sufficient certainty; and these happen so seldom, that there cannot be more than two in one century, and in some centuries none at all. Mr. Rittenhouse completed his arrangements about the middle of April. The observatory was fixed near his mansion at Norriton, on an elevated piece of ground, having a grand horizontal view, and furnished with suitable instruments to assist in making observation.

The night before the long expected day, was passed by Mr. Rittenhouse, in a solicitude that precluded sleep. Great was his joy, when he beheld the morning sun, and the whole horizon without a cloud. In pensive silence and trembling anxiety, he waited for the predicted moment of observation. It came; and brought with it all that had been expected. In Mr. Rittenhouse, it excited, in the instant of one of the contacts of the planet with the sun, and emotion of delight so exquisite and powerful that caused him to faint. This will readily be believed by those who have known the extent of that pleasure which attends the discovery or first perceptions of truth.

Mr. Rittenhouse was associated with several gentlemen, appointed to observe the transit of Mercury over the sun on the 9th of November, in the same year. This was likewise done at Norriton. An account of this more common phenomenon, was drawn up, and published, by Dr. Smith. The report contains the following remarks: "The first time that ever Mercury was observed on the sun's disk, was by

Gassendus, at Paris, on the 28th of October, 1631, O. S. The transit of the 9th of November, 1769, was the fourth in that class; the two intermediate, each at forty-six years difference, having been observed by Dr. Halley, in 1677, and 1723."

The result of his observations at Norriton, as well as those made under the auspices of the American Philosophical Society, at Philadelphia and Cape Henlopen, with those of the 9th of November, are detailed in the first volume of its transactions. In all these events, Mr. Rittenhouse acted a distinguished part; the report of the proceedings bear ample testimony to his transcendent astronomical abilities; it was received with great satisfaction by the astronomers of Europe, and, contributed much to raise the character of our then infant country for astronomical knowledge.

Some time in 1767, Mr. Rittenhouse projected a planetarium, or orrery, which he completed in the course of a few years. This machine raised his reputation as a mechanic, mathematician, and astronomer, to the highest grade. In the execution of it he was no copyist. He fashioned it entirely after his own astronomical theory. Mr. Jefferson, in his Notes on Virginia, remarks, that this model of the planetary system has a plagiary appellation." This is strictly true. The machine itself is as original as it is grand; by it he represented the revolutions of the heavenly bodies, in a manner more extensive and complete, than had ever been done by any former astronomers.

Such were the amplitude of his mind, and the extent of his ideas, that in his retired situation, and while employed in working at his trade, he resolved and matured the mighty plan, upon which this machine is constructed, before it was executed. A correct description of this orrery, drawn up by Dr. Smith, is published in the first volume of the Transactions of the Philosophical Society. This beautiful and interesting piece of mechanism was disposed of to the college of New Jersey.

In the year 1770, he executed another, after the same model, for the college of Philadelphia. This was completed in less than ten months from its commencement. It now forms part of the philosophical apparatus of the University of Pennsylvania, where it has for many years commanded the admiration of the ingenious and learned, from every part of the world.

This invention attracted very general attention among the learned and ingenious. The legislature of Pennsylvania bore honourable testimony to the merits of Mr. Rittenhouse. Under date of the 8th of March 1771, on the journal of the house, the following proceedings are found:

"The members of assembly, having viewed the orery constructed by Mr. David Rittenhouse, a native of this province, and being of opinion, that it greatly exceeds all others hitherto constructed, in demonstrating the true situation of the celestial bodies, motions, distances, periods, eclipses, and order, upon the principles of the Newtonian system:

"*Resolved*, That the sum of three hundred pounds be given to Mr. Rittenhouse, as a testimony of the high sense which this house entertains of his mechanical abilities in constructing the said orrery."

A certificate for the said sum, being drawn at the table, was signed by the speaker; and a committee was appointed to agree with, and purchase from, Mr. Rittenhouse, a new orrery, for the use of the public, at any sum not exceeding four hundred pounds, lawful money of the province.

In 1770, he removed with his family from Norriton, and fixed his residence in the city of Philadelphia. Shortly afterwards, he had the misfortune to lose his wife. This afflicting providence, for some time, overpowered the philosepher with gloominess. Mrs. Rittenhouse left him in the charge of two young children. He vented his melancholy feelings, on this occasion, in the following pathetic words:—"but now, neither money nor reputation has any charms."

The comet which appeared in July, 1770, engaged his attention for several days. His observations on it, with the elements of its motion, and the trajectory of its path, were communicated to the American Philosophical Society; and where published in the first volume of its transactions. It is worthy of remark, that a comparison of his observations with those of M. Messeir, in France, and Mr. Six, in England, on the same comet, confirmed his theory.

In January, 1771, Mr. Rittenhouse was elected one of the secretaries of the American Philosophical Society. The distinguished services rendered by this society, to the cause of science, had now attracted the respectful notice of the legislature; and about this time a laudable interchange of civilities between them was commenced. In those days, the characters and attainments of the members of the society, and of the assembly, commanded mutual respect.

From the year 1771, the affairs of the then colonies, were of a nature to exclude science from the attention of even the philosophic and learned. All men became engaged in politics. Legislation, and the military art, took possession of the taste of the whole population. The interests of literature were neglected.

Until the year 1775, Mr. Rittenhouse was very much in retirement; though he was not disengaged from anxiety for the public weal. He was too enlightened and patriotic not to be keenly sensible of the delicate as well as the alarming situation of his country: but nature had fitted him more for the pursuits of science than the bustle of an official station.

Before the commencement of the American revolutionary war, he was engaged jointly with a commissioner of New York, to ascertain and define the boundary between Pennsylvania and New York. This was not completed till after the termination of the war.

In the year 1775, he was elected to the Centinental Congress, as a representative of Philadelphia; and took his seat in that body on the fifth of March. He was

justly considered a prudent and able member, though little accustomed to occupy the floor as a speaker. He did not possess that description of talents, which often enable one of moderate abilities to make a prominent figure in popular assemblies: but his perception was quick; in deliberative powers he excelled; and his calculating faculties were most accurate. Insuperable native diffidence, pursuits precluding opportunities of public speaking, and the peculiar structure of his mind, disqualified him as an orator.

In the memorable year, 1776, Mr. Rittenhouse was appointed a member of the board constituting the council of safety for the state of Pennsylvania. In the same year he was also a member of that convention in Philadelphia, which formed the first constitution for the state. On the meeting of the first legislature under the constitution in October, he was unanimously appointed the state treasurer, which office he continued to fill for twelve years, when he resigned.

In consequence of a territorial dispute between Pennsylvania and Virginia, he was appointed by the legislature of the former, in 1779, one of three commissioners to settle the controversy. After meeting with the commissioners on the part of Virginia, a convention was framed in which the line, to divide the two states, was designated; and this convention was subsequently ratified by the proper authority. Notwithstanding this adjustment, the controversy again arose, which was suspended during the war on the recommendation of Congress, whose principal object in the mediation, was to preserve peace and harmony among all the states while the war for their common independence raged. In 1784, the boundary was again ascertained by commissioners from both the states. Of those from Pennsylvania, Mr. Rittenhouse was one; and to his talents, moderation, and firmness, was ascribed, in a great degree, the satisfactory termination of that once alarming controversy.

In 1780, Mr. Rittenhouse was elected by the general assembly of Pennsylvania a trustee to the loan office. This institution was originally founded for the purposes of augmenting the circulating medium; and administered by the trustees according to authority from the legislature, for forty years, performed all the services of banking institutions. It was always simple in its operations, and issued bills on land security, with a given interest, to such persons as needed pecuniary assistance. After the adoption of the constitution of the United States, this institution went down, and banks were substituted.

In 1782, Mr. Rittenhouse was elected a fellow of the Academy of Arts and Sciences, of Boston. In 1784, the college of William and Mary, in Virginia, complimented him with the honorary degree of Master of Arts. In the diploma, which is special in its terms, he is styled by the rectors and faculty of the institution, "the chief of philosophers." In the year 1789, he received the degree of Doctor of Laws from the collage of New Jersey. In January, 1790, he was elected one of the vice presidents of the American Philosophical Society; and, in 1791, he succeeded the venerable Franklin to the presidency of that institution. In 1795, Dr. Rittenhouse was elected a fellow of the Royal Society of London. This society has dealt the honor of fellowship with a sparing hand, especially to foreigners. Of Americans, Dr. Franklin, Dr. Johnson; Dr. Morgan, and the late Mr. Bartram, were fellows before the revolutionary war; but since that event not more than two or three, of whom Dr. Rittenhouse was one, have been admitted to the honor of fellowship.

It has been seen that Dr. Rittenhouse was frequently employed in ascertaining the boundaries and adjusting territorial differences between several of the colonies, now states. These engagements were all completed, or put in the way of being completed, in such a manner as to excite at once great respect for his talents and integrity.

The last occasion of this kind, on which he was employed, was on the appointment of Congress, in December, 1785, to run a line of jurisdiction between the states of Massachusetts and New York. This duty he performed in 1787, and was executed with his usual precision and integrity. It was his farewell peace offering to the union and happiness of his country. Some time previously he was engaged with certain Virginia commissioners in running the western boundary of Pennsylvania. This service is merely introduced for the sake of exhibiting a small specimen of the philosopher's conjugal correspondence. The following extract is of a letter to his wife, for he was again married, written in the wilderness: "I ever delighted in a wild uncultivated country. This is truly romantic at this season of the year, June 30th, 1785, beautiful and luxuriant in the highest degree. A few days ago, I walked up a little rivulet, in company with Mr. E. a considerable distance; to enjoy the romantic scene. It was bounded on each side by steep hills of an immense height; its bottom was finely paved with large flag stones, rising in steps, with every here and there a beautiful cascade. The further we proceeded the more shady and cool we found it. At last I proposed to Mr. E. that we should proceed no further, lest we should find some of the water goddesses, perhaps, stark naked and asleep. Mr. A. went with us for company sake; but neither the nymphs, nor their shady bowers, have any charms for him. Nothing but your presence was wanting to me to heighten the enchanting scene.

"Deer are incredibly plenty in those regions. I was the first among us, who caught a young fawn, and hoped to have sent the beautiful little animal, a present, to H. We kept it about a week, and it became quite tame; but our cows ran away, and it starved for want of milk.

"I would write to B. and H., but you will not readily imagine how little leasure I have. Tired of the

exercises of the day, I rejoice at the approach of night; and, after a cup of tea, generally lie down to rest as soon as it is dark, unless we have observations to make; and then we have generally half a mile to walk through dark woods, from the place of observation to the encampment. This, however, does not happen above once in a fortnight.

"Sun hasten down the western skies,
"Go quick to bed, and quickly rise,"

Until you bring round the happy day, that will restore me again to my dear woman and children I so much love."

The talents and knowledge of Dr. Rittenhouse were not limited to mathematical or material objects, his mind was a repository of the knowledge of all ages and countries: he had early and deeply studied most of the different systems of theology. He was well acquainted with practical metaphysics. In reading travels he took great delight. From them he drew a large fund of his knowledge of the natural history of the globe. He possessed talents for music and poetry; but the more serious and necessary pursuits of his life prevented his devoting much time to the cultivation of them. He read the English poets with great pleasure. The muse of Thomson charmed him most. He admired his elegant combinations of philosophy and poetry. However opposed theseStudies may appear, they alike derive their perfection from extensive and accurate observations of the works of nature. He was intimately acquainted with the French, German and Dutch languages, the two former of which he acquired without the assistance of a teacher. The served the valuable purpose of conveying to him the discoveries of foreign nations, and thereby, enabled him to prosecute his studies with more advantage in his native language.

The study of astronomy was the favorite pursuit of Dr. Rittenhouse. Though not aided by the munificence of princes, in the purchase of such instruments

as were used by the celebrated Mayer and Herschel, and, by the use of which alone they were enabled in one sense to anticipate him, yet so extensively did he make himself acquainted with the heavenly bodies and the laws which govern their motions, that he predicted almost every thing which has been discovered by them or any other astronomers. The discoveries of Dr. Herschel, among the fixed stars, in addition to those made by Mr. Mayer, in a great degree only realized the expectations which were expressed many years before by Dr. Rittenhouse. Indeed his annunciations were almost prescient, respecting that portion of the heavens, which should, at some time, be the scene of the most important astronomical discoveries.

According to Dr. Herschel, the milky way is an immense nebula, near one of the sides of which is placed the solar system; and he imagined, that each nebula, of which he had observed more than nine hundred, consists of a group of suns, with their attendant planets! Dr. Rittenhouse never had the advantage of using such stupendous and costly telescopes, as those used by his great rival Herschel to explore the heavens; but his vast intellectual perception seems to have penetrated through space, and contemplated those sublime phenomena, which actually exist beyond the power of our vision. Dr. Herschel, with all his advantages, was enabled only to testify the anticipations of Rittenhouse.

The American philosopher in language almost prophetic, and dictated by the most exalted perceptions of the grandeur of celestial objects, yet undiscovered, in his celebrated oration before the Philosophical Society, observed, that, "all yonder stars innumerable, with their dependencies, may, perhaps, compose but the leaf of a flower in the Creator's garden, or a single pillar in the immense buildings of the divine architect." Those expectations which occupied the mind of Rittenhouse, as early as the year 1775, of the amazing discoveries to be made among the fixed stars, were

not mere conjectures or vague hypotheses; but were rational anticipations of realities founded on the most accurate observations, and most laborious researches, as well as the profoundest philosophical judgement. As Newton revealed those truths in physics, which his predecessor Bacon, preconceived; so that great practical astronomer, Herschel, by means of the most improved instruments, verified the grand hypotheses in astronomy, which had long before been conceived by the towering genius of Rittenhouse.

In the latter years of his life, Dr. Rittenhouse filled various public stations of a civil nature, in which he ably discharged the duties required of him. He was the first director of the United States Mint, established under the administration of President Washington; a trustee of the University of Pennsylvania; and a member of different incorporated associations to promote internal improvements: In all of which, he was a good officer and an extensively useful citizen.

In reply to the preposterous assertion of the Abbe Raynal, "that America had not produced one able mathematician, one man of genius in a single art or a single science," Mr. Jefferson, late president of the United States retorted the following emphatical contradiction, which presents Dr. Rittenhouse's pretensions in an unequivocal and satisfactory view: "In war we produced a Washington, whose memory will be adored, while liberty shall have votaries; whose name will triumph over time; and will in future ages assume its first station among the most celebrated worthies of the world; when that wretched philosophy, which would have arranged him among the degeneracies of nature, shall be forgotten. In physics, we have produced a Franklin, than whom no one of the present age has made more important discoveries, nor has enriched philosophy more, and given more ingenious solutions of the phenomena of nature. We have supposed Rittenhouse second to no astronomer living; that in genius he must be the first, because he

is self taught. As an artist, he has exhibited as great proofs of mechanical genius as the world has ever produsced. He has not indeed made a world; but by imitation, he has approached nearer its Maker than any other man who has lived from the creation to this day."

The citizens of the United States were not insensible of the merits of Dr. Rittenhouse. Inventions and improvements in every art and science were frequently submitted to his examination, and afterwards were patronized by the public, according as they were approved of by him. Wherever he went, he met with public respect and private attentions. But his reputation was not confined to his native country. His name was known and admired in every region of the earth, where science and genius are cultivated and respected. In the limited circles of private life he commanded esteem and affection. As a neighbour he was kind and charitable. His sympathy extended in a certain degree to distress of every kind, but it was excited with the most force, and the kindest effects to the weakness, pain and poverty of old age. As a friend he was sincere, ardent and disinterested. As a companion, he instructed upon all subjects. Those who enjoyed his company; might always learn something from his conversation, which was indicative of his mild disposition and the greatness of his understanding.

The source of his virtues, whether of a public or private nature, was his exalted conceptions of the Deity, together with his decided belief of the immortality of the soul. His religion was not derived wholly from his knowledge and admiration of the material world—he believed in the Christian revelation. Of this he gave many proofs, not only in the conformity of his life to the precepts of the gospel, but in his letters and conversation. In speaking of the truth and excellency of the Christian religion, he mentioned, as an evidence of its divine origin, that the miracles of our

Saviour differed from all other mericles, in being entirely of a kind and benevolent nature. Dr. Rush, says, "It is no small triumph to the friends of revelation to observe, in this age of infidelity, that our religion has been admitted, and even defended, by men of the most exalted understanding, and of the strongest reasoning powers. The single testimony of Dr. Rittenhouse in its favor, outweighs the declamations of whole nations against it."

As the natural effect of his belief in the relation of the whole human race to each other, in a common Father and Redeemer, he embraced the whole family of mankind in the arms of his benevolence. But the philanthrophy of Dr. Rittenhouse did not consist simply in wishes for the happiness of mankind. He reduced this divine principle to practice, by a series of faithful and disinterested services to that part of his fellow creatures, to which the usefulness of good men is chiefly exerted. His country—his beloved country, was the object of the strongest affections of his heart. For her he thought—for her he labored—and for her, in the hours of her difficulties and dangers, he wept in every stage of the revolution.

The year of the declaration of independence, which changed our royal governments into republics, produced no change in his political tenets, for he had been educated in the principles of republicanism by his father.

Dr. Rittenhouse resigned the directorship of the United States Mint, in June, 1792; after which he retired very much to the pursuits of science, and the tranquillity of domestic life. The scanty remnant of his days that yet remained, were spent in the dignity of a great philosopher, and a good man. From the society of his family and friends, he derived much comfort in his intervals of respite from sickness and pain. He was fully sensible of the approaching crisis of the disease, which took him in his youth, and finally bore him to the grave; and he was quite prepared

to meet the awful summons, with the fortitude which a retrospect of a well spent life was calculated to inspire, and with the resignation, which an entire confidence in the goodness, wisdow, and mercy of God, taught him to be his duty.

Dr. Rittenhouse was tall in stature; and in his person slender and straight. Although his constitution was delicate, his frame did not appear to have been originally weak. His gait was quick, and all his motions lively; his face was oval; complexion fair; and his hair brown. His features were good. His forehead was high, capacious, and smooth; his eyes were inclined to grey, expressive of animation, reflection, and good nature and well placed under full arched brows. His nose was large, handsome, and inclined to the aquiline. His mouth was well formed; and his chin broad and strong. In short, his whole countenance was indicative of intelligence, complacency, and goodness; displayed a mixture of contemplation, benignity, and innocence; and easily distinguished the person of the philosopher, in the largest company.

LIFE OF HENRY.

Patrick Henry, Governor of Virginia, and a most eloquent orator, took an early and decided part in support of the rights of his country, against the tyranny of Great Britain. In the year 1765 he was a member of the assembly of Virginia, and he introduced some resolutions, which breathed a spirit of liberty, and which were accepted by a small majority on the twenty ninth of May. These were the first

resolutions of any assembly occasioned by the stamp act. One of the resolutions declared, that the general assembly had the exclusive right and power, to lay taxes and impositions upon the inhabitants of the colony. Such was the warmth, excited in the debate, that Mr. Henry, according to the relation of Mr. Stedman, after declaiming against the arbitrary measures of Great Britain, added, "Cæsar had his Brutus, Charles the first an Oliver Cromwell, and George the third——," when he was stopped from proceeding farther, and called to order. He was elected in 1774 one of the deputies from Virginia to the first congress, and was in this year one of the committee, which drew up the petition to the king. In May 1775, after lord Dunmore had conveyed on board a ship a part of the powder from the magazine of Williamsburg, Mr. Henry distinguished himself by assembling the independent companies of Hanover and king William counties, and directing them towards Williamsburg with the avowed design of obtaining payment for the powder, or of compelling to its restitution. The object was effected, for the king's receiver general gave a bill for the value of the property. The governor immediately fortified his palace, and issued a proclamation, charging those, who had procured the bill, with rebellious practices. This only occasioned a number of county meetings, which applauded the conduct of Mr. Henry, and expressed a determination to protect him. In August 1775, when a new choice of deputies to congress was made, he was not re-elected, for his services were now demanded more exclusively in his own state. After the departure of lord Dunmore he was chosen the first governor in June, 1776, and he held this office several succeeding years, bending all his exertions to promote the freedom and independence of his country. In the beginning of 1778 an anonymous letter was addressed to him with the design of alienating his affections from the commander in chief. He en-

closed it to Washington both to evince his friendship and to put him on his guard. In another letter, written a few days afterwards, when he had heard of a plan to effect the removal of Washington, he says to him, "while you face the armed enemies of our liberty in the field, and, by the favor of God, have been kept unhurt, I trust your country will never harbor in her bosom the miscreant, who would ruin her best supporter; but when arts, unworthy honest men are used to defame and traduce you, I think it not amiss, but a duty to assure you of that estimation, in which the public hold you."

In June 1778 he was a member, with other illustrious citizens of Virginia, of the convention, which was appointed to consider the constitution of the United States; and he exerted all the force of his masterly eloquence, day after day, to prevent its adoption. He contended that changes were dangerous to liberty; that the old confederation had carried us through the war and secured our independence, and needed only amendment, that the proposed government was a consolidated government, in which the sovereignty of the states would be lost, and all pretensions to rights and privileges would be rendered insecure: that the want of a bill of rights was an essential defect; that general warrants should have been prohibited; and that to adopt the constitution with a view to subsequent amendments was only submitting to tyranny in the hope of being liberated from it at some future time. He therefore offered a resolution, containing a bill of rights and amendments for the greater security of liberty and property to be referred to the other states before the ratification of the proposed form of government. His resolution however was not accepted. The argument of Pendleton, Randolph, Madison, and Marshall prevailed against the eloquence of Henry, and the constitution was adopted, though by a small majority. Mr. Henry's bill of rights and his amendments were then accepted, and

directed to be transmitted to the several states. Some of these amendments have been ingrafted into the federal constitution, on which account as well as on account of the lessons of experience, Mr. Henry in a few years lost in a degree his repugnance to it. After the resignation of Mr. Randolph in August, 1795 he was nominated by president Washington as secretary of state, but considerations of a private nature induced him to decline the honorable trust. In November 1796 he was again elected governor of Virginia, and this office also he almost immediately resigned. In the beginning of the year 1789 he was appointed by president Adams as an envoy to France with Messrs. Ellsworth and Murray. His letter in reply to the secretary of state is dated in Charlotte county April the sixteenth, and in it he speaks of a severe indisposition, to which he was then subject, and of his advanced age and increasing debility. Governor Davie of North Carolina, was in consequence appointed in his place. He lived but a short time after this testimony of the respect, in which his talents and patriotism were held, for he died at Red Hill in Charlotte county, June 6, 1799.

Mr. Henry was a man of eminent talents, of ardent attachment to liberty, and of most commanding eloquence. The Virginians boast of him as an orator of nature. His general appearance and manners were those of a plain farmer. In this character he always entered on the exordium of an oration. His unassuming looks and expressions of humility induced his hearers to listen to him with the same easy openness, with which they would converse with an honest neighbor. After he had thus disarmed prejudice and pride, and opened a way to the heart, the inspiration of his eloquence, when little expected, would invest him with the authority of a prophet. With a mind of great powers and a heart of keen sensibility, he would sometimes rise in the majesty of his genius, and while he filled the audience with admiration,

would, with almost irresistable influence, bear along the passions of others with him.

In private life he was as amiable and virtuous as he was conspicuous in his public career. His principles of liberty and regard to Christianity led him to deplore the practice of slavery. On this subject, in a letter written in 1773, he enquires, "is it not amazing that at a time, when the rights of humanity are defined and understood with precision, in a country above all others fond of liberty; that in such an age and such a country we find men, professing a religion, the most humane, mild, gentle, and generous, adopting a principle, as repugnant to humanity, as it is inconsistent with the bible, and destructive to liberty? Would any one believe, that I am master of slaves of my own purchase? I am drawn along by the general inconvenience of being here without them. I will not—I cannot justify it. I believe a time will come, when an opportunity will be offered to abolish this lamentable evil. Every thing we can do is to improve it, if it happens in our day; if not, let us transmit to our descendants, together with our slaves, a pity for their unhappy lot, and an abhorrence of slavery."

The following affectionate tribute to the memory of Henry, which appeared in the Virginia papers immediately after his death, though not a specimen of perfect taste, will yet further illustrate his character by showing the estimation, in which he was held by those, who knew him. "Mourn, Virginia, mourn; your Henry is gone. Ye friends to liberty in every clime, drop a tear. No more will his social feelings spread delight through his happy house. No more will his edifying example dictate to his numerous offspring the sweetness of virtue, and the majesty of patriotism. No more will his sage advice, guide by zeal for the common happiness, impart light and utility to his caressing neighbors. No more will he illuminate the public councils with sentiments drawn from the cabinet of his own mind, ever directed to

his country's good, and clothed in eloquence sublime, delightful, and commanding. Farewell, first rate patriot, farewell. As long as our rivers flow, or mountains stand, so long will your excellence and worth be the theme of our homage and endearment; and Virginia, bearing in mind her loss, will say to rising generations, imitate my Henry."

LIFE OF HANCOCK.

John Hancock, Governor of Massachusetts, was the son of the Reverend John Hancock of Braintree, and was born about the year 1737. He was graduated at Harvard college in 1754. On the death of his uncle, Thomas Hancock, Esquire, he received a very considerable fortune, and soon became an eminent merchant. He was for several years, selectman of the town; and in 1766, he was chosen a member of the house of Representatives for Boston. He there blazed a whig of the first magnitude. Otis, Cushing, and Samuel Adams, were the other three, who represented the capital, men of name in the revolution of their country. Being fond of public notice, he was flattered by the approbation of the people, with their marks of confidence, and the distinction he had in the general court.—He often gave his opinion when questions were before the house, and mingled in the debates, but possessed no great powers as a parliamentary speaker. He never made a long speech, either in the style of declamatory eloquence, or the masterly reasoning of a great statesman. The political sagacity of Adams, the public spirit and patriotic zeal of Hancock, gave a lustre to the Boston seat. Perhaps there never was a time when the representatives of the

capital had such an influence in the affairs of the province. There was a collision of sentiment among the leading whigs about the removal of the court to Boston. Hutchinson offered this upon certain conditions which the majority of members saw fit to comply with. Mr. Hancock voted with them. Adams was against the measure, and expressed his sentiments in opposition to his friend and colleague. Mr. Hancock was a man impatient of contradiction, and, upon some occasions, indulged a petulant humor. He could not bear the opposition of Mr. Adams on this question. It was one cause of the alienation between them. That gentleman was cool and determined, hard and unyielding, as well as bold in his argument. He sometimes was sarcastic in his replies; but upon the subject which then divided the house, he observed the utmost delicacy, and seemed to dread the consequence of this political difference. These gentlemen had different views, though equally zealous in their opposition to the mother country. Or else one looked further than the other. Mr. Hancock was not against a reconciliation, if Great Britain would repeal all her unjust acts, and pay due respect to the rights of the colonies. Adams did not wish the ancient friendship should be renewed. From the time of the stamp act, he saw that hostilities would commence, and the American colonies become a nation by themselves. He was desirous of being an actor in the most important scenes, and have his name handed down to posterity among the patriots, who were to form a new æra in the revolution of empires.

The division of these two leading characters made parties among the whigs, especially in the town of Boston. Mr. Hancock was the idol of the people. His generosity upon all public occasions, and kindness to individuals, were the theme of continual and loud applause. It was said that his heart was open as the day to acts of beneficence: that he sunk his fortune in the cause of his country. This was the

prevailing idea, and it gave a perfume to the sacrifice. What bounds could be given to the people's affection to a man, who preferred "their loving favor to great riches!"

He was certainly the most popular man in the community. Nor was his popularity a transient thing. At future periods of our revolution, when attempts were made to depreciate him; when other characters were brought forward whose merit was conspicuous; and even when he was accused, in the publications of the day, of wanting qualifications for administering the government, he still retained his influence in the community. It is well known, that some of our greatest and wisest and best men have solicited his concurrence in their measures, from the full persuasion that the popular voice was so much in his favor.

In the year 1774, Mr. Hancock was chosen to deliver the public oration in Boston on the 5th of March, to commemorate the massacree of 1770. It is a very handsome composition, and was very well delivered. During the course of this year his health declined. When the general assembly of the province elected members of the first congress, he was so ill, as to be unable to attend public business. The ensuing winter was favorable to his health; he recruited his spirits and activity. He was one of the provincial congress, and, for a time, their president. He was then elected a member of the general congress, that was to meet at Philadelphia in 1775. This year was the most remarkable of any in the annals of the British nation. The revolutionary war commenced, April 19. The battle of Lexington was succeeded by a proclamation from the governor declaring the country in a state of rebellion, and proscribing Hancock and Adams, as the chief leaders, whose behaviour was too flagitious to be forgiven. This only served to give importance to their characters; to fix them in the esteem and affection of their country. There were men in these states who coveted such a mark of dis-

tinction; many, who would have given all their wealth, and run any risk of consequences.

In 1776, July 4th, his name appears as president of the congress which declared the colonies independent of the crown of Great Britain. The name of the president alone was published with the declaration, though every member signed it. It was a mark of respect due to Massachusetts, to have one of their members in the chair, which had been filled with a member from South Carolina and Virginia. Mr. Hancock had those talents which were calculated to make him appear to more advantage as chairman, than in the debates of a public body. He excelled as moderator of the Boston town meetings, as president of the provincial congress, and state convention; and, as head of the great council of our nation, he was much respected. He discovered a fine address, great impartiality, sufficient spirit to command attention, and preserve order. His voice and manner were much in his favor, and his experience, in public business, gave him ease and dignity.

In 1779, Mr. Hancock resigned his place in congress. He was chosen a member of the convention that formed the constitution of Massachusetts. He was not one of the committee to draw up the plan. Many were earnest to have him president; but the majority were for Mr. Bowdoin. He attended his duty, however, very regularly, and sometimes expressed his sentiments. He dissented from those, who would have given more power to the governor, and more energy to the constitution.

From 1780 to 1785, Mr. Hancock was annually chosen governor of the commonwealth of Massachusetts. He declined being a candidate for the office the ensuing year, and was succeeded, by the honorable James Bowdoin, esq. During the administration of Mr. Bowdoin, there was an insurrection in the state, which was happily quelled. Every thing was done in the most judicious manner by the governor

and the legislature, yet a part of the community appeared to be discontented with the administration, and, in the year 1787, Mr. Hancock was again placed in the chair.

His conduct in the state convention during the discussion of it, gained him honor. The opposition to this excellent form of government was great. It was said that the majority of the convention would be against the adoption; and that the governor was with the opposers. He was chosen president of the convention, but did not attend the debates till the latter weeks of the session. Certain amendments were proposed to remove the objections of those, who thought some of the articles deprived the people of their rights. He introduced these amendments with great propriety, and voted for the adoption of the constitution. His name and influence doubtless turned many in favor of the federal government.

The latter years of his administration were easy to him, on account of the public tranquility. The federal government became the source of so much prosperity, that the people were easy and happy. The two patriots, Hancock and Adams, were reconciled. When lieutenant governor Cushing died, general Lincoln was chosen, as his successor. This gave great offence to Mr. Adams, and it was very disagreeable to the governor. They joined their strength to support the same measures, as well as renewed their friendship. The next year, Lincoln was left out of office, and Mr. Adams chosen lieutenant governor. This gentleman succeeded Mr. Hancock, as governor of the commonwealth, after his death.

The death of such a man was interesting to the people at large. The procession at his funeral was very great. Dr. Thacher preached his funeral sermon the next sabbath. He was very friendly to the clergy of all denominations, and did a great deal to promote the cause of learning as well as religion. The library of Harvard College will give an exhibition of his

munificence; for the name of Hancock, in golden letters, now adorns one of the alcoves of the library room, and is upon the records of the university among her greatest benefactors. He died October 8, 1793.

Mr. Hancock was promoted to every office which a man fond of public life could expect or desire. His manners were pleasing. He was polite, affable, easy condescending; and, what was greatly in his favor, did not appear lifted up with pride. Such an elevation to prosperous circumstances would make some men giddy, and cause others to despise their neighbor, poorer than themselves.

The editor will again refer to, and give an extract from the oration of *Richard Rush*, esq. delivered at the city of Washington, July 4, 1812. He said, "During the siege of Boston, General Washington consulted Congress upon the propriety of bombarding the town. Mr. Hancock was then President of Congress. After General Washington's letter was read, a solemn silence ensued. This was broken by a member making a motion that the house should resolve itself into a committee of the whole, in order that Mr. Hancock might give his opinion upon the important subject, as he was so deeply interested from having all his estate in Boston. After he left the chair, he addressed the chairman of the committee of the whole in the following words: "It is true, sir, nearly all the property I have in the world, is in houses and other real estate in the town of Boston; but if the expulsion of the British army from it, and the liberties of our country require their being burnt to ashes, *issue the orders for that purpose immediately.*"

LIFE OF WARREN.

Joseph Warren, a major general in the American army, was born in Roxbury in 1740, and was graduated at Harvard college in 1759. Directing his attention to medical studies, he in a few years became one of the most eminent physicians in Boston. But he lived at a period, when greater objects claimed his attention, than those, which related particularly to his profession. His country needed his efforts, and his zeal and courage would not permit him to shrink from any labors or dangers. His eloquence and his talents as a writer, were displayed on many occasions from the year in which the stamp act was passed to the commencement of the war. He was a bold politician. While many were wavering with regard to the measures which should be adopted, he contended that every kind of taxation, whether external or internal, was tyranny, and ought immediately to be resisted; and he believed that America was able to withstand any force that could be sent against her. From the year 1768, he was a principal member of a secret meeting or caucus in Boston, which had great influence on the concerns of the country. With all his boldness, and decision, and zeal, he was circumspect and wise. In this assembly the plans of defence were matured. After the destruction of the tea, it was no longer kept a secret. He was twice chosen the public orator of the town, on the anniversary of the massacre, and his orations breathe the energy of a great and daring mind. It was he, who on the evening before the battle of Lexington obtained information of the intended expedition against Concord, and at ten o'clock at night dispatched an express to Messrs. Hancock and Adams, who were at Lexington, to warn them of their danger. He himself on the next day, the memorable nineteenth of April, was very active. It is said in general Heath's memoirs, that a ball took off

part of his earlock. In the confused state of the army, which soon assembled at Cambridge, he had vast influence in preserving order among the troops. After the departure of Hancock to congress, he was chosen president of the provincial congress in his place. Four days previous to the battle of Bunker's or Breed's hill, he received his commission of major general. When the intrenchments were made upon the fatal spot, to encourage the men within the lines, he went down from Cambridge and joined them as a volunteer on the eventful day of the battle, June 17th. Just as the retreat commenced, a ball struck him on the head, and he died in the trenches, aged thirty-five years. He was the first victim of rank that fell in the struggle with Great Britain. In the spring of 1776, his bones were taken up and entombed in Boston, on which occasion, as he had been grandmaster of the free masons in America, a brother mason and an eloquent orator pronounced a funeral eulogy.

The following account of the battle of Bunker's or Breed's Hill, we take from Ramsay's American Revolution:

"A considerable height, by the name of Bunker's Hill, just at the entrance of the Peninsula of Charlestown, was so situated as to make the possession of it a matter of great consequence, to either of the contending parties. Orders were therefore issued by the provincial commanders that a detachment of a thousand men should intrench upon this height. By some mistake Breed's Hill, high and large like the other, but situated nearer Boston, was marked out for the intrenchments, instead of Bunker's hill. The provincials proceeded to Breed's hill and worked with so much diligence that between midnight and the dawn of the morning, they had thrown up a small redoubt about eight rods square. They kept such a profound silence, that they were not heard by the British, on board their vessels, though very near. These having derived their first information of what was going on

from the sight of the work near completion, began an incessant firing upon them. The provincials bore this with firmness, and though they were only young soldies, continued to labor till they had thrown up a small breastwork, extending from the east side of the redoubt to the bottom of the hill. As this eminence overlooked Boston general Gage thought it necessary to drive the provincials from it. About noon, therefore, he detached major general Howe and brigadier general Pigot, with the flower of his army, consisting of four battalions, ten companies of the grenadiers and ten of light infantry, with a proportion of field artillery, to effect this business. These troops landed at Moreton's point, and formed after landing, but remained in that position till they were reinforced by a second detachment of light infantry and grenadier companies, a battalion of land forces and a battalion of marines, making in the whole nearly 3090 men. While the troops who first landed were waiting for this reinforcement, the provincials for their farther security, pulled up some adjoining post and rail fences, and set them down in two parallel lines at a small distance from each other, and filled the space between with hay, which having been lately mowed, remained on the adjacent ground.

"The king's troops formed in two lines, and advanced slowly, to give their artillery time to demolish the American works. While the British were advancing to the attack, they received orders to burn Charlestown. This was not done because they were fired upon from the houses in that town, but from the military policy of depriving enemies of a cover in their approaches. In a short time this ancient town, consisting of about 1500 buildings, chiefly of wood, was in one great blaze.

"In Boston the heights of every kind were covered with the citizens, and such of the king's troops as were not on duty. The hills around the adjacent country

which afforded a safe and distinct view, were occupied by the inhabitants of the country.

"Thousands, both within and without Boston, were anxious spectators of the bloody scene. The honor of British troops beat high in the breasts of many, while others with a keener sensibility, felt for the liberties of a great and growing country. The British moved on but slowly which gave the provincials a better opportunity for taking aim. The latter in general reserved themselves till their adversaries were within ten or twelve rods, but then began a furious discharge of small arms. The stream of the American fire was so incessant, and did so great execution, that the king's troops retreated in disorder and precipitation. Their officers rallied them and pushed them forward with their swords, but they returned to the attack with great reluctance. The Americans again reserved their fire till their adversaries were near, and then put them a second time to flight. General Howe and the officers redoubled their exertions, and were again successful, though the soldiers discovered a great aversion to going on. By this time the powder of the Americans began so far to fail that they were not able to keep up the same brisk fire as before. The British also brought some cannon to bear which raked the inside of the breastwork from end to end. The fire from the ships, batteries and field artillery was redoubled; the soldiers in the rear were goaded on by their officers. The redoubt was attacked on three sides at once. Under these circumstances a retreat from it was ordered, but the provincials delayed, and made resistance with their discharged muskets as if they had been clubs, so long that the king's troops, who easily mounted the works, had half filled the redoubt before it was given up to them.

"While these operations were going on at the breast work and redoubt, the British light infantry were attempting to force the left point of the former, that

they might take the American line in flank. Though they exhibited the most undaunted courage, they met with an opposition, which called for its greatest exertions. The provincials here, in like manner, reserved their fire till their adversaries were near, and then poured it upon the light infantry, with such an incessant stream, and in so true a direction as mowed down their ranks. The engagement was kept up on both sides with great resolution.

"The number of Americans engaged, amounted only to 1500. The loss of the British as ackowledged by general Gage, amounted to one thousand and fifty-four. Nineteen commissioned officers were killed, and seventy more were wounded. The battle of Quebeck in 1759, which gave Great Britain the province of Canada, was not so destructive to British officers as this affair of a slight intrenchment, the work only of a few hours.

The Americans lost five pieces of cannon. Their killed amounted to one hundred and thirty-nine. Their wounded and missing to three hundred and fourteen. Thirty of the former fell into the hands of the conquerors. They particularly regretted the death of general Warren. To the purest patriotism and most undaunted bravery, he added the virtues of domestic life, the eloquence of an accomplished orator, and the wisdom of an able statesman." Dr. Warren published an oration in 1772, and another in 1775, commemorative of the fifth of March, 1770.

LIFE OF WAYNE.

Anthony Wayne, a major general in the American army, occupies a conspicuous station among the heroes and patriots of the American revolution. He was born in the year 1745, in Chester county, in the state, then colony of Pennsylvania. His father, who was a respectable farmer, was many years a representative for the county of Chester in the general assembly, before the revolution. His grandfather, who was distinguished for his attachment to the principles of liberty, bore a captain's commission under king William at the battle of the Boyne. Anthony Wayne succeeded his father as a representative for the county of Chester, in the year 1773; and from his first appearance in public life, distinguished himself as a firm and decided patriot. He opposed with much ability the unjust demands of the mother country, and in connexion with some gentlemen of distinguished talents, was of material service in preparing the way for the firm and decisive part which Pennsylvania took in the general contest.

In 1775 he was appointed to the command of a regiment, which his character enabled him to raise in a few weeks in his native county. In the same year he was detached under general Thompson into Canada. In the defeat which followed, in which general Thompson was made a prisoner, colonel Wayne, though wounded, displayed great gallantry and good conduct in collecting and bringing off, the scattered and broken bodies of troops.

In the campaign of 1776 he served under general Gates at Ticonderoga, and was highly esteemed by that officer for both his bravery and skill as an engineer. At the close of that campaign he was created a brigadier general.

At the battle of Brandywine he behaved with his usual bravery, and for a long time opposed the pro-

gress of the enemy at Chad's Ford. In this action the inferiority of the Americans in numbers, discipline, and arms, gave them little chance of success; but the peculiar situation of the public mind was supposed to require a battle to be risked; the ground was bravely disputed, and the action was not considered as decisive. The spirits of the troops were preserved by a belief that the loss of the enemy had equaled their own. As it was the intention of the American commander in chief to hazard another action on the first favorable opportunity that sould offer, general Wayne was detached with his division, to harrass the enemy by every means in his power. The British troops were encamped at Tryduffin, and general Wayne was stationed about three miles in the rear of their left wing, near the Paoli tavern, and from the precautions he had taken, he considered himself secure; but about eleven o'clock, on the night of the 17th September, major general Gray, having driven in his pickets, suddenly attacked him with fixed bayonets. Wayne, unable to withstand the superior number of his assailants, was obliged to retreat; but formed again at a small distance, having lost about one hundred and fifty killed and wounded. As blame was attached by some of the officers of the army, to general Wayne, for allowing himself to be surprised in this manner, he demanded a court martial, which, after examining the necessary evidence declared that he had done every thing to be expected from an active, brave, and vigilant officer; and acquitted him with honor.

Shortly after was fought the battle of Germantown, in which he greatly signalized himself by his spirited manner of leading his men into action.

In all councils of war, general Wayne was distinguished for supporting the most energetic and decisive measures. In the one previous to the battle of Monmouth, he and general Cadwallader were the only officers decidedly in favor of attacking the British army. The American officers are said to have been

influenced by the opinions of the Europeans. The Baron de Steuben, and generals Lee and Du Portail, whose military skill was in high estimation, had warmly opposed an engagement, as too hazardous. But general Washington, whose opinion was in favor of an engagement, made such disposition as would be most likely to lead to it. In that action, so honorable to the American arms, general Wayne was conspicuous in the ardor of his attack. General Washington, in his letter to congress, observes, "Were I to conclude my account of this day's transactions without expressing my obligations to the officers of the army in general, I should do injustice to their merit, and violence to my own feelings. They seemed to vie with each other in manifesting their zeal and bravery. The catalogue of those who distinguished themselves is too long to admit of particularizing individuals. I cannot, however, forbear mentioning brigadier general Wayne, whose good conduct and bravery, throughout the whole action deserves particular commendation."

In July 1779, the American commander in chief having conceived a design of attacking the strong post of Stony Point, committed the charge of this enterprise to general Wayne. The garrison was composed of six hundred men, principally highlanders, commanded by lieutenant colonel Johnson. Stony Point is a considerable height, the base of which, on the one side, is washed by the Hudson river, and on the other is covered by a morass, over which there is but one crossing place. On the top of this hill was the fort; formidable batteries of heavy artillery were planted on it, in front of which, breast-works were advanced, and half way down, was a double row of abattis. The batteries commanded the beach and the crossing place of the morass. Several vessels of war were also in the river, whose guns commanded the foot of the hill. At noon, on the 15th of July, general Wayne marched from Sandy Beach and arrived at eight o'clock in the evening within a mile and a half

of the fort, where he made the necessary disposition for the assault. After reconnoitering the situation of the enemy, at half past eleven he led his troops with unloaded muskets and fixed bayonets, and without firing a single gun, completely carried the fort and made the garrison, amounting to five hundred and forty-three (the rest being killed) prisoners. In the attack, while at the head of Febiger's regiment, general Wayne received a wound in the head with a musket-ball, which, in the heat of the conflict, supposing mortal, and anxious to expire in the lap of glory, he called to his aids to carry him forward and let die in the fort. The resistance on the part of the garrison was very spirited. Out of the forlorn hope of twenty men, commanded by lieutenant Gibbon, whose business it was to remove the abattis, seventeen were killed. For the brave, prudent and solderlike conduct displayed in this achievement, the Congress presented to general Wayne a gold medal emblematic of the action.

In the campaign of 1781, in which lord Cornwallis, and a British army were obliged to surrender prisoners of war, he bore a conspicuous part. His presence of mind never failed him in the most critical situations. Of this he gave an eminent example on the James River. Having been deceived by some false information, into a belief that the British army had passed the river, leaving but the rear guard behind, he hastened to attack the latter before it should also have effected its passage; but on pushing through a morass and wood, instead of the rear guard, he found the whole British army drawn up close to him. His situation did not admit of a moment's deliberation. Conceiving the boldest to be the safest measure, he immediately led his small detachment, not exceeding eight hundred men, to the charge, and after a short, but very smart and close firing, in which he lost one hundred and eighteen of his men, he succeeded in bringing off the rest under cover of the wood. Lord Cornwallis, suspecting the attack to be a feint, in or-

der to draw him into an ambuscade, would not permit his troops to pursue.

The enemy having made a considerable head in Georgia, Wayne was despatched by general Washington to take the command of the forces in that state, and after some sanguinary engagements, succeeded in establishing security and order. For his services in that state the legislature presented him with a valuable farm.

On the peace which followed shortly after, he retired to private life; but in 1789 we find him a member of the Pennsylvania convention, and one of those in favor of the present federal constitution of the United States.

In the year 1792 he was appointed to succeed general St. Clair, who had resigned the command of the army engaged against the Indians on our western frontier. He had to oppose an enemy of unceasing activity, abounding in stratagems, and flushed with recent victory. His troops were composed of new levies, who with difficulty could be brought to submit to the strictness of discipline, necessary to be preserved in order to counteract the arts of their wily foe. The service was considered as extremely dangerous, and the recruiting proceeded very slowly. Two gallant armies had been cut to pieces by these savages, who had destroyed with fire and the tomahawk, the advanced settlements of the whites. On his appointment it was supposed by many, that the military ardor, for which he had ever been eminently distinguished, would be very likely to lead him in action under unfavorable circumstances, when opposed by a foe, whose vigilance was unceasing, and whose rule it was, never to risk an action, without the greatest assurance of success. But the appointment had been made by the man, who of all others was the best judge of the requisite qualities of a commander. General Wayne had been selected for this important situation by president Washington, who entertained a distinguished

regard for him; and the result showed his oppinion as accurate in this, as in all other instances of his glorious life. Wayne formed an encampment at Pittsburgh and such exemplary discipline was introduced among the new troops, that on their advance into the Indian country, they appeared like veterans. He wished to come to a general engagement with the enemy, but aware of the serious consequences that would follow a defeat, the movements of the army were conducted with consumate prudence. Parties were constantly in advance, and as well to guard against a surprize, which had been fatal to the officers which preceded him, as to inure his troops to vigilance and toil, the station of every night was fortified. Provisions were difficult to procure, and a rapid advance into the enemy's country, must have been followed by as rapid a retreat. He, properly, conceived that the security of the country and the favorable termination of the war, depended more on maintaining the ground, in a slow advance, than by making a rapid incursion into their villages, which he might be obliged instantly to abandon. At this time, the Six Nations had shown a disposition to hostilities, which the care of the President was scarcely able to prevent. And on the south, it was with difficulty that the government of Georgia restrained the turbulence of its savage neighbors. In this situation, a retreat of the American troops, would probably have been attended with the most fatal consequences to the country.

The Indians had collected in great numbers, and it was necessary not only to rout them, but to occupy their country by a chain of posts, that should, for the future, check their predatory incursions. Pursuing this regular and systematic mode of advance, the autumn of 1793 found general Wayne with his army at a post in the wilderness, called Greensville, about six miles in advance of fort Jefferson, where he determined to encamp for the winter, in order to make the necessary arrangements for opening the campaign to

effect early in the following spring. After fortifying his camp, he took possession of the ground on which the Americans had been defeated in 1791, which he fortified also, and called the work fort Recovery. This situation of the army, menacing the Indian villages, effectually prevented any attack on the white settlements. The impossibility of procuring the necessary supplies prevented the march of the troops till the summer. On the eighth of August the army arrived at the junction of the rivers An Glaize and Miami of the Lakes, where they erected works for the protection of the stores. About thirty miles from this place, the British had formed a post, in the vicinity of which the Indians had assembled their whole force. On the 15th the army again advanced down the Miami, and on the 18th arrived at the Rapids. On the following day they erected some works, for the protection of the baggage. The situation of the enemy was reconnoitered, and they were found posted in a thick wood, in the rear of the British fort. On the twentieth the army advanced to the attack. The Miami covered the right flank, and on the left were the mounted volunteers, commanded by general Todd. After marching about five miles, major Price, who led the advance, received so heavy a fire from the Indians, who were stationed behind trees, that he was compelled to fall back. The enemy had occupied a wood in front of the British fort, which, from the quantity of fallen timber, could not be entered by the horse. The legion was immediately ordered to advance with trailed arms, and rouse them from their covert; the cavalry under captain Campbell, were directed to pass between the Indians and the river, while the volunteers, led by general Scott, made a circuit to turn their flank. So rapid, however, was the charge of the legion, that before the rest of the army could get into action, the enemy were completely routed, and driven through the woods for more than two miles, and the troops halted within gun-shot

of the British fort. All the Indians' houses and corn-fields were destroyed. In this decisive action, the whole loss of general Wayne's army, in killed and wounded, amounted only to one hundred and seven men. As hostilities continued on the part of the Indians, their whole country was laid waste and forts established, which effectually prevented their return.

The success of this engagement destroyed the enemies' power; and in the following year general Wayne concluded a definitive treaty of peace with them.

A life of peril and glory was terminated in December, 1796. He had shielded his country from the murderous tomahawk of the savage. He had established her boundaries. He had forced her enemies to sue for her protection. He beheld her triumphant, rich in arts, and potent in arms. What more could his patriotic spirit wish to see? He died in a hut at Presque Isle aged about fifty one years, and was buried on the shore of Lake Erie.

A few years since his bones were taken up by his son, Isaac Wayne, Esq. and entombed in his native county; and by direction of the Pennsylvania State Society of the Cincinnati, an elegant monument of white marble, with suitable inscriptions thereon, has been erected to his memory.

LIFE OF MORGAN.

Daniel Morgan, brigadier general, of the Virginia line on continental establishment, deservedly ranked among the best and most efficient soldiers of the United States, was born in New Jersey; from whence he emigrated to Virginia in 1755. Like many of the greatest men of every country, his native condition was indigent, so much as to render it necessary for young Morgan to enter into service as a laborer, for daily wages.

Soon after his arrival in Virginia he obtained employment from farmer Roberts, near Charleston, in the county of Jefferson, (then Berkley.) Afterwards he was engaged to drive a wagon for John Ashley, overseer for Nathaniel Burrel, Esq. at his estate on the Shenandoah river, in Frederic county, near Berry's ferry. When he left Ashley, Morgan had, by his care and industry, amassed enough cash to purchase a wagon and team: which he did, and soon afterwards entered with it into the employment of Mr. John Ballantine, at his establishment on Occuquan creek. At the expiration of this year Braddock's expedition was spoken of as an event certainly to take place in the course of the ensuing summer. Morgan reserved himself, wagon, &c. for this expedition; when he joined the army, but in what character is not known.

He received, during his military service, a severe wound in the face; the scar of which was through life very visible. We do not understand in what affair this happened; but it was from a rifle or musket, aimed, as he said himself, by an Indian. The bullet entered the back of his neck, and passed through his left cheek, knocked out all his hind teeth on that side.

In the course of the campaign he was unjustly punished, by being brought to the halbert, under a charge of contumely to a British officer, where he received five hundred lashes. The officer being afterwards

convinced of his cruel error, made every amend in his power to the maltreated Morgan; who, satisfied with the contrition evinced by the officer, magnanimously forgave him. Nor did the recollection of this personal outrage operate in the least to the prejudice of the British officers in the late war. Many of them, as is well known, fell into the hands of Morgan, and invariably received from him compassionate and kind treatment.

The general would often, among his intimate friends, recur to this circumstance; the narrative whereof he generally concluded, by saying, in a jocular way, that "King George was indebted to him one lash yet; for the drummer miscounted one, and he knew well when he did it; so that he only received four hundred and ninety nine, when he promised him five hundred."

In this period of life from twenty to thirty years of age, Morgan was extremely dissipated; and spent much of his time in vulgar tippling and gambling houses. However, although habituated to the free use of ardent spirits, he was never considered as a drunkard: and though enamored with cards and dice, he was a cautious player, increasing rather than diminishing his cash fund. This course of life subjected him to many affrays and furious pugilistic combats in which he never failed to take a leading part. The theatre of these exploits was Berrystown, a small village in the county of Frederic, commonly called Battletown; named, as is generally supposed, from the fierce combats fought on its soil under the banners of Morgan.

Whatever may have been the cause, it is certain that he spent much of his leisure at this place; that he fought there many severe combats; and that though often vanquished he never was known to omit seizing the first opportunity which presented, after return of strength, of taking another bout with his conqueror;

and this he repeated from time to time, until at length victory declared in his favor.

Such was the innate invincibility of young Morgan —which never forsook him, when, by the strength of his unimproved genius, and the propitiousness of fortune, he mounted on an extended theatre of action; as replete with difficulty as to him with glory. When he returned from Braddock's expedition he reassumed his former employment, and drove his own wagon. In a few years his previous savings, added to the little he earned in the campaign, enabled him to purchase a small tract of land from a Mr. Blackburn, in the county of Frederic; on which, during our war, he erected a handsome mansion house, with suitable accompanying improvements, and called it Saratoga, in commemoration of the signal victory obtained by general Gates, to which he had himself principally contributed. On this farm Morgan, having married shortly after his return from his military tour, resided when the revolutionary war broke out.

The smattering of experience gained during Braddock's expedition, pointed him out to the leading men of Frederic, as qualified to command the first company of riflemen, raised in that county in defence of our country. He speedily completed his company, as all the finest youth of Frederic flocked to him; among whom was lieutenant, afterwards colonel Heth, and many others, who in the course of the war became approved officers. With this company Morgan hastened to the American army encamped before Boston, in 1774, and soon afterwards was detached by the commander in chief under Arnold, in his memorable expedition against Quebec.

The bold and disastrous assault, planned and executed by the celebrated Montgomery against that city gave opportunity for the display of heroism to individuals, and furnished cause of deep regret to the nation by the loss of the much beloved Montgomery. No officer more distinguished himself than did captain

Morgan. Arnold commanded the column to which Morgan was attached, who became disabled by a ball through his leg early in the action, and was carried off to a place of safety.

Our troops having lost their leader, each corps pressed forward as the example of its officer invited. Morgan took the lead, and preceded by sergeant, afterwards lieutenant colonel, Porterfield, who unfortunately fell at the battle of Cambden, when his life might have saved an army, mounted the first barrier; and rushing forward, passed the second barrier, lieutenant Heth and sergeant Porterfield only before him. In this point of the assault a group of noble spirits united in surmounting the obstacles opposed to our progress; among them was Greene and Thayer of Rhode Island, Hendricks of Pennsylvania, and Humphreys of Virginia; the two last of whom were killed.

Vain was this blaze of glory. Montgomery's fall stopped the further advance of the principal column of attack; and the severity of the raging storm, the obstacles of nature and of art in our way, and the combined attack of the enemy's force, no longer divided by attention to the column of Montgomery, overpowered all resistance. Morgan (with most of the corps of Arnold) was taken; and as heretofore mentioned, experienced a different treatment from sir Guy Carleton than was at that period customary for British officers to dispense to American prisoners. The kindness of Carleton, from motives of policy, applied more forcibly to the privates than to our officers and produced a durable impression.

While Morgan was in confinement at Quebec the following anecdote, told by himself, manifests the high opinion entertained by the enemy of his military talents from his conduct in this assault. He was visited occasionally by a British officer, to him unknown; but from his uniform, he appeared to belong to the navy, and to be an officer of distinction. During one of his visits, after conversing upon many topics, "he asked

Morgan if he did not begin to be convinced that the resistance of America was visionary? and he endeavored to impress him with the disastrous consequences which must infallibly ensue, if the idle attempt was persevered in, and very kindly exhorted him to renounce the ill advised undertaking. He declared, with seeming sincerity and candor, his admiration of Morgan's spirit and enterprise, which he said was worthy of a better cause; and told him, if he would agree to withdraw from the American and join the British standard, he was authorized to promise him the commission, rank and emoluments of a colonel in the royal army." Morgan rejected the proposal with disdain; and concluded his reply by observing, "That he hoped he would never again insult him in his distressed and unfortunate situation by making him offers which plainly implied that he thought him a rascal." The officer withdrew, and the offer was never repeated.

As soon as our prisoners were exchanged, Morgan hastened to the army; and by the recommendations of general Washington, was appointed to the command of a regiment. In this station he acted under the commander in chief in 1777, when a select rifle corps was formed out of the others in the army and committed to his direction, seconded by lieutenant colonel Richard Butler of Pennsylvania, and major Morris of New Jersey, two officers of high talents, and specially qualified for the enterprising service to which they were assigned. Morgan and his riflemen were singularly useful to Washington; but our loss at Ticonderoga, and the impetuous advance of Burgoyne, proclaimed so loudly the gloomy condition of our affairs in the north, that the general who thought only of the public good, deprived himself of Morgan and sent him to Gates, where he was persuaded his services were most required.

The splendid part he acted on that occasion, and how much his exertions contributed to the glorious triumph achieved afterwards, are circumstances gen-

erally known, notwithstanding his name is not mention by general Gates in his dispatches.

After the return of Morgan to the main army he continued actively employed by the commander in chief, and never failed to promote the good of the service by his sagacity, his vigilance, and his perseverance. In 1780 his health became much impaired, and he obtained leave of absence, when he returned to his family in Frederic, where he continued until after the fall of Charleston.

When general Gates was called to the chief command in the south, he visited Morgan, and urged the colonel to accompany him. Morgan did not conceal his dissatisfaction at the treatment he had heretofore received, and proudly spoke of the important aid he had rendered to him, and the ungrateful return he had experienced. Being some few weeks afterwards promoted by congress to the rank of brigadier general by brevet, with a view of detaching him to the south, he repaired to the army of Gates, but did not reach Carolina in time to take a part in the battle of Cambden. He joined Gates at Hillsborough, and was sent under Smallwood to Salisbury with all the force fitted for service. Gates, as soon as he had prepared the residue of his army, followed, and gave to Morgan, in his arrangements for the field, the command of the light troops.

Greene now arrived as the successor of Gates, which was followed by that distribution of his force which led to the battle of the Cowpens; the influence of which was felt in every subsequent step of the war in the Carolinas.

The following account of the battle of the Cowpens we copy from "Lee's Memoirs:"

"Lieutenant colonel Tarleton was detached by lord Cornwallis in pursuit of Morgan, and he lost no time in approaching his enemy. Morgan was duly apprized of his advance. Tarleton passed through the ground on which Morgan had been encamped, a few

hours after the latter had abandoned it; and, leaving his baggage under a guard with orders to follow with convenient expedition, he pressed forward throughout the night in pursuit of the retiring foe. After a severe march through a rugged country, he came in sight of his enemy about eight o'clock in the morning (January 17, 1781;) and having taken two of our videts, he learned that Morgan had halted at the Cowpens, not far in front, and some distance from the Broad river. Presuming that Morgan would not risk action unless driven to it, Tarleton determined, fatigued as his troops were, instantly to advance on his enemy, lest he might throw his corps safe over the Broad river.

"Morgan having been accustomed to fight and to conquer, did not relish the eager and interrupting pursuit of his adversary; and sat down at the Cowpens to give rest and refreshment to his harrassed troops, with a resolution no longer to avoid action, should his enemy persist in pressing it. Being apprised at the dawn of day of Tarleton's advance, he instantly prepared for battle. This decision grew out of irritation of temper, which appears to have overruled the suggestions of his sound and discriminating judgement. The ground about the Cowpens is covered with open wood, admitting the operation of cavalry with facility, in which the enemy trebled Morgan. His flanks had no resting, but were exposed to be readily turned; and the Broad river ran parallel to his rear, forbidding the hope of a safe retreat in the event of a disaster. Had Morgan crossed this river, and approached the mountain, he would have gained a position disadvantageous to cavalry, but convenient for riflemen; and would have secured a less dangerous retreat but these cogent reasons, rendered more forcible by his inferiority in numbers, could not prevail. Confiding in his long tried fortune, conscious of his personal superiority in soldiership, and relying on the skill and courage of his troops, he adhered to his reso-

lution. Erroneous as was the decision to fight in this position, when a better might have been easily gained, the disposition for battle was masterly.

"Two light parties of militia, under major M'Dowell of North Carolina, and major Cunningham, of Georgia, were advanced in front, with orders to feel the enemy as he approached; and, preserving a desultory and well aimed fire as they fell back to the front line, to range with it and renew the conflict. The main body of the militia composed this line, with general Pickens at its head. At a suitable distance in the rear of the first line a second was stationed, composed of the continental infantry and two companies of Virginia militia, under captains Triplett and Taite, commanded by lieutenant colonel Howard. Washington's cavalry, reinforced with a company of mounted militia armed with sabres, was held in reserve; convenient to support the infantry, and protect the horses of the rifle militia, which were tied agreeably to usage in the rear. On the verge of battle, Morgan availed himself of the short and awful interim to exhort his troops. First addressing himself, with his characteristic pith, to the line of militia, he extolled the zeal and bravery so often displayed by them, when unsupported with the bayonet or sword; and declared his confidence that they could not fail in maintaining their reputation, when supported by chosen bodies of horse and foot, and conducted by himself. Nor did he forget to glance at his unvarying fortune, and superior experience; or to mention who often with his corpse of riflemen, he had brought British troops, equal to those before him, to submission; He described the deep regret he had already experienced in being obliged, from prudential considerations, to retire before an enemy always in his power; exhorted the line to be firm and steady; to fire with good aim; and if they would pour in but two volleys at killing distance, he would take upon himself to secure victory. To the continentals, he was

very brief. He reminded them of the confidence he had always reposed in their skill and courage; assured them that victory was certain if they acted well their part; and desired them not to be discouraged by the sudden retreat of the militia, *that* being part of his plan and orders. Then taking post with this line, he waited in stern silence for the enemy.

"The British lieutenant colonel, urging forward, was at length gratified with the certainty of battle; and, being prone to presume on victory, he hurried the formation of his troops. The light and legion infantry, with the seventh regiment, composed the line of battle; in the centre of which was posted the artillery, consisting of two grasshoppers; and a troop of dragoons was placed on each flank. The battalion of the seventy first-regiment, under major M'Arthur, with the remainder of the cavalry, formed the reserve. Tarleton placed himself with the line, having under him major Newmarsh, who commanded the seventh regiment. The disposition was not completed when he directed the line to advance, and the reserve to wait further orders. The American light parties quickly yielded, fell back and arrayed with Pickens. The enemy, shouting, rushed forward upon the front line, which retained its station, and poured in a close fire; but continuing to advance with the bayonet on our militia, they retired, and gained with haste the second line. Here, with part of the corps, Pickens took post on Howard's right, and the rest fled to their horses—probably with orders to remove them to a further distance. Tarleton pushed forward, and was received by his adversary with unshaken firmness. The contest became obstinate, and each party, animated by the example of its leader, nobly contended for victory. Our line maintained itself so firmly, as to oblige the enemy to order up his reserve. The advance of M'Arthur reanimated the British line which again moved forward, and, outstretching our front, endangered Howard's right. This officer instantly took

measures to defend his flank, by directing his right company to change its front; but, mistaking this order, the company fell back, upon which the line began to retire, and general Morgan directed it to retreat to the cavalry. This manoeuvre being performed with precision, our flank, became relieved, and the new position was assumed with promptitude. Considering this retrogade movement the precursor of flight, the British line rushed on with impetuosity and disorder; but as it drew near Howard faced about, and gave it a close and murderous fire. Stunned by this unexpected shock, the most advanced of the enemy recoiled in confusion. Howard seized the happy moment, and followed his advantage with the bayonet. This decisive step gave us the day. The reserve having been brought near the line, shared in the destruction of our fire, and presented no rallying point to the fugitives. A part of the enemy's cavalry, having gained our rear, fell on that portion of the militia who had retired to their horses. Washington struck at them with his dragoons, and drove them before him. Thus, by simultaneous efforts, the infantry and cavalry of the enemy were routed. Morgan pressed home his success, and the pursuit became vigorous and general. The British cavalry, having taken no part in the action, except the two troops attached to the line, were in force to cover the retreat. This, however was not done. The zeal of lieutenant colonel Washington in pursuit having carried him far before his squadron, Tarleton turned upon him with the troop of the seventeenth regiment of dragoons, seconded by many of his officers. The American lieutenant colonel was first rescued from this critical contest by one of his sergeants, and afterwards by a fortunate shot from his bugler's pistol. This check concluded resistance on the part of the British officer, who drew off with the remains of his cavalry, collected his stragglers, and hastened to lord Cornwallis. The baggage guard, learning the issue

of the battle, moved instantly towards the British army. A part of the horse who had shamefully avoided action, and refused to charge when Tarleton wheeled on the impetuous Washington, reached the camp of Cornwallis at Fisher's creek, about twenty five miles from the Cowpens, in the evening. The remainder arrived with lieutenant colonel Tarleton on the morning following. In this decisive battle we lost about seventy men, of whom twelve only were killed. The British infantry, with the exception of the baggage guard, were nearly all killed or taken. One hundred, including ten officers were killed; twenty-three officers and five hundred privates were taken. The artillery, eight hundred muskets, two standards thirty-five baggage wagons, and one hundred dragoon horses fell into our possession.

The victory of the Cowpens was to the south what that of Bennington had been to the north. General Morgan, whose former services had placed him high in public estimation, was now deservedly ranked among the most illustrious defenders of his country. Starke fought an inferior, Morgan a superior, foe. The former contended with a German corps; the latter with the elite of the southern army, composed of British troops. Starke was nobly seconded by colonel Warner and his continental regiment; Morgan derived very great aid from Pickens and his militia, and was effectually supported by Howard and Washington. The weight of the battle fell on Howard; who sustained himself gloriously in trying circumstances, and seized with decision the critical moment to complete with the bayonet the advantage gained by his fire.

Congress manifested their sense of this important victory by a resolve, approving the conduct of the principal officers, and commemorative of their distinguished exertions. To general Morgan they presented a golden medal, to brigadier Pickens a sword, and

to lieutenant colonels Howard and Washington a silver medal, and to captain Triplett a sword.

We would merely observe, that, in our opinion, those honored by their country by such testimonials of national gratitude, would do well to deposit them in the archives of some public institution. The testimonial is then preserved, not liable to casualty; or to fall into the hands of some ignorant administrator or executor, who is insensible of its value, and would willingly exchange it for an eagle. If the pride of family is consulted, it would thus receive a tenfold gratification; the story of the illustrious action it commemorated be read by thousands, who would otherwise be ignorant of the fact. We would ask, what has now become of the medal granted to Morgan?

Greene was now appointed to the command of the south. After the battle of the Cowpens a controversy ensued between that general and Morgan, as to the route which the latter should observe in his retreat. He insisted on passing the mountains—a salutary precaution, if applied to himself, but which was at the same time fatal to the operations of Greene. He informed the general that if that route was denied him, he would not be responsible for the consequences.—Neither shall you, replied the restorer of the south; I I will assume them all on myself. Morgan continued in his command until the two divisions of the army united at Guilford court-house, when neither pursuasion, entreaty, nor excitement could induce him to remain in the service any longer. He retired, and devoted himself exclusively to the improvement of his farm and of his fortune.

He remained here, in the bosom of retirement at Frederic, until he was summoned by president Washington to repress, by the force of the bayonet, the insurrection in the western counties of Pennsylvania. The executive of Virginia then detached Morgan to take the field, at the head of the militia of that state.

Upon the retreat of the main body, Morgan remain-

ed in the bosom of the insurgents, until the ensuing spring, when he received orders from the president to withdraw. For the first time in his life, he now appears to have entertained ideas of political distinction. Baffled in his first attempt, he succeeded in his second and was elected a member of the house of representatives of the United States for the district of Frederic. Having served out the constitutional term, he declined another election. His health being much impaired, and his constitution gradually sinking, he removed from Saratoga to the scene of his juvanile years, Berresville (Battletown) and from thence to Winchester, where he closed his long, laborious and useful life.

Brigadier Morgan was stout and active, six feet in height, strong, not too much encumbered with flesh, and was exactly fitted for the toils and pomp of war. His mind was discriminating and solid, but not comprehensive and combining. His manners plain and decorous, neither insinuating nor repulsive. His conversation grave, sententious and considerate, unadorned and uncaptivating. He reflected deeply, spoke little, and executed with keen perseverance whatever he undertook. He was indulgent in his military command, preferring always the affection of his troops, to that dread and awe which surround the rigid disciplinarian.

No man ever lived who better loved this world, and no man more reluctantly quitted it. He was in the habit of expressing this feeling to his intimates without reserve, and used to say that he would agree to pass much of his life as a gallay slave rather than exchange this world for that unknown. He was the reverse of the great Washington in this respect, whom he very much resembled in that happy mixture of caution and ardor which distinguished the American hero. For the latter, when speaking upon the subject of death, would often declare, that he would not repass his life was it in his option. Yet no man, contradictory as it may appear, valued less his life than

Morgan, when duty called him to meet his foe. Stopped neither by danger nor by difficulty, he rushed into the hottest of the battle, enamored with the glory which encircles victory.

General Morgan, like thousands of mortals when nearly worn out by the hand of time, resorted for mental comfort to the solace of religion. He manifested great penitence for the follies of his early life; this was followed by joining the presbyterian church in full communion, with which he continued to his last day.

LIFE OF LEE.

Charles Lee, a major general in the service of the United States, during the revolutionary war, was an Englishman by birth, and the youngest son of John Lee, a colonel in the British service. From his early youth he was ardent in the pursuit of knowledge; and being an officer at eleven years of age, may be considered as having been born in the army. This circumstance deprived him of some regularity with respect to the mode of his education, yet his genius led him assiduously to cultivate the fields of science, and he acquired a competent knowledge in the languages of Greece and Rome; while his fondness for travelling gave him also an opportunity of attaining the Italian, French, German and Spanish.

Having laid a good foundation, tactics became his favourite study, and it seemed to be the height of his ambition to distinguish himself in the profession of arms. We accordingly find him very early in America, commanding a company of grenadiers, and he was

wounded at the battle of Ticonderogo, where general Abercrombie was defeated.

When he returned to England, from America, after the reduction of Montreal, he found a general peace was in contemplation. The cession of Canada to the French was talked of; a circumstance which gave great uneasiness to the Americans. On this occasion he published a pamphlet, shewing the importance of Canada to Great Britain. In the year 1762, he bore a colonel's commission, and served under general Burgoyne, in Portugal, in which service he acquitted himself with the greatest honor.

Not long afterwards he entered into the Polish service. Though he was absent when the stamp act passed, he, yet by his letters, zealously supported the cause of America. In the years 1771, 1772 and 1773 he travelled over all Europe, for he could not content himself in a life of idleness and inactivity. During this excursion he was engaged with an officer in Italy in an affair of honor, and he killed his antagonist, escaping himself with the loss of two fingers.

The destruction of the British East India Company's tea, at Boston, the 16th of December, was a prelude to the calamities, which afterwards ensued. At this crisis, general Lee's mind was not unobservant or inactive; he both by his conversation and his pen, animated the colonists to a great degree, and persuaded them to make a persevering resistance.

During this winter, and the ensuing summer, he visited most places of eminence from Virginia to Boston, at which last place he arrived on the first of August, 1774. The most active political characters on the American theatre, received him every where with joy, considering his presence amongst them as a most propitious omen. General Gage had now issued his proclamation; and though Lee was on half pay in the British service, it did not prevent him from expressing his sentiments in terms of the most pointed severity against the ministry. In short, he blazed forth a

whig of the first magnitude, and communicated a great portion of his spirit to all with whom he conversed. As he continued travelling from place to place, he became known to all, who distinguished themselves in this important opposition; his company and correspondence were eagerly courted, and many occasional political pieces, the production of his pen, were eagerly read and much admired.

In 1774 he was induced by the persuasion of his friend, General Gates, to purchase a valuable tract of land, of two or three thousand acres, in Berkely county, Virginia, where general Gates was at that time settled. In May 1775 he went to Philadelphia, where Congress was then assembled. The battle of Lexington, and some other matters had ripened the contest; and Lee's active and enterprising disposition was ready for the most arduous purposes. He therefore accepted the commission of major general from Congress, and resigned that which he held in the British service.

This he did in a letter, which he transmitted to Lord Barrington, then secretary at war; in which he assured his lordship that though he had renounced his half pay, yet whenever it should please his majesty to call him forth to any honorable service against the enemies of his country, no man would obey the summons, with more zeal and alacrity than himself; but he, at the same time expressed his disapprobation of the present measures, in the most direct terms, declaring them to be so "absolutely subversive of the rights and liberties of every individual subject; so destructive to the whole empire at large, & ultimately so ruinous to his majesty's own person, dignity and family, that he thought himself obliged, in conscience as a citizen, Englishman and a soldier of a free state, to exert his utmost to defeat them."

He accompanied Washington to the camp at Cambridge, where he arrived July 2, 1775, and was received with every mark of respect. In the begin-

ning of the following year he was dispatched to New York to prevent the British from obtaining possession of the city and the Hudson. This trust he executed with great wisdom and energy. He disarmed all suspicious persons on Long Island, and drew up a test to be offered to every one, whose attachment to the American cause was doubted. His bold measures carried terror wherever he appeared. He seems to have been very fond of this application of a test; for in a letter to the president of congress he informs him, that he had taken the liberty at Newport to administer to a number of the tories a very strong oath, one article of which was, that they should take arms in defence of their country, if called upon by congress, and he recommends, that this mesure should be adopted in reference to all the tories in America. Those fanatics, who might refuse to take it, he thought should be carried into the interior.

Congress had now received the account of general Montgomery's unsuccessful expedition against Quebec. As the most flattering expectation had been entertained of the success of this officer, the event threw a gloom on American affairs. To remedy this disaster, congress directed their attention to general Lee; and resolved that he should forthwith repair to Canada, and take upon him the command of the army of the United Colonies in that province. To this he readily consented; but, whilst preparations were making for the important undertaking, congress changed their determination, and appointed him to the command of the southern department, in which he became very conspicuous, as a vigilant, brave, and active officer. His extensive correspondence, his address under every difficulty, and his unwearied attention to the duties of his station, all evinced his great military capacity, and extreme usefulness in the cause he had espoused.

Every testimony of respect was paid him by the people of the northern colonies, and he experienced a similar treatment in his journey to the southward.

Great, in particular, was the joy on his arrival in South Carolina, where his presence was seasonable and absolutely necessary, as sir Henry Clinton was actually preparing for an invasion of that province. He soon diffused an ardor amongst the military, attended with the most salutary consequences, and his diligence and activity at Charleston, previous to the attack on Sullivan's island, which happened on the 28th June 1776, contributed in eminent degree to the signal success which was there obtained by the American arms.

In October by the direction of congress he repaired to the northern army. As he was marching from the Hudson through New Jersey, to form a junction with Washington in Pennsylvania, he quitted his camp in Morris county to reconnoitre. In this employment he went to the distance of three miles from the camp and entered a house for breakfast. A British colonel became acquainted with his situation by intercepting a countryman, charged with a letter from him, and was enabled to take him prisoner. He was instantly mounted on a horse without his cloak and hat, and carried safely to New York.

The Congress on hearing this news, wrote general Washington, desiring him to send a flag to general Howe, for the purpose of enquiring in what manner general Lee was treated: and if he found that it was not agreeable to his rank, to send a remonstrance to general Howe, on the subject. This produced much inconvenience to both sides, and much calamity to individuals. A cartel had some time before been established for the exchange of prisoners between the generals Howe and Washington, which had hitherto been carried into execution as far as circumstances would admit of; but as Lee was particularly obnoxious to government, it was said, that general Howe was tied down by his instructions from parting with him on any terms, now that fortune had placed him in his power. General Washington, not having at this time,

any prisoner of equal rank, proposed to exchange six field officers for him, the number being intended to balance that disparity, or if this was not accepted, he required that he should be treated suitably to his station, according to the practice of civilized nations, till an opportunity offered for a direct and equal exchange. To this, it was answered, that as Mr. Lee was a deserter from his majesty's service, he was not to be considered as a prisoner of war; that he did not at all come within the conditions of the cartel and could receive no benefit from it. This brought on a fruitless discussion: in the mean time, however, general Lee was guarded with the vigilance of a state criminal of the first consequence. This conduct not only suspended the operation of the cartel, but induced retaliation on the American side; and colonel Campbell, who had hitherto been treated with great humanity by the people of Boston, was now thrown into a dungeon.

These British officers, who were prisoners in the southern colonies, though not treated with equal rigor, were likewise abridged of their parole, it was, at the same time, declared, that their future treatment should in every degree, be regulated by that, which general Lee experienced, and that their persons should be answerable, in the utmost extent, for any violence, that was offered to him. Thus matters continued, till the capture of the British army under general Burgoyne, at Saratoga, October 17th, 1777. A change of conduct then took place towards Lee; he was allowed his parole in New York, dined with many principal officers and families, and a short time after was exchanged.

The first military scene in which general Lee was engaged after his exchange, was at the battle of Monmouth, which was also his last. Being detached by the commander in chief to make an attack upon the rear of the enemy, general Washington was pressing forward to support him on the twenty eighth day of

June, when to his astonishment he found him retreating without having made a single effort to maintain his ground. Meeting him in these circumstances, without any previous notice of his plans, Washington addressed him in terms of some warmth. Lee, being ordered to check the enemy, conducted himself with his usual bravery, and when forced from the ground, on which he had been placed, brought off his troops in good order. But his haughty temper could not brook the indignity, which he believed to have been offered him on the field of battle, and he addressed a letter to Washington requiring reparation for the injury.

In consequence of Lee's conduct on this occasion, he was put under arrest, and tried by a court martial at Brunswick, the 4th of July following. The charges exhibited against him were:

1st. For disobedience of orders in not attacking the enemy on the 28th of June agreeable to repeated instructions.

2dly. For misbehaviour before the enemy on the same day, by making an unnecessary, disorderly and shameful retreat.

3dly. For disrespect to the commander in chief in two letters dated the 1st July, and the 28th June.

The court met by several adjournments, till the 12th of August, when they found the unfortunate general guilty of the several charges adduced against him, and sentenced him to be suspended from any commission in the armies of the United States for twelve months; and this sentence was afterwards confirmed by congress.

He now retired disgusted and disappointed to his estate in Berkely county, Virginia, where he remained living in a stile peculiar to himself, in a house more like a barn than a palace. Glass windows and plaistering would have been luxurious extravagance, and his furniture consisted of a very few necessary articles; however, he had got a few select valuable authors,

and these enabled him to pass away his time in this obscurity. In the autumn of 1782, he began to be weary with the sameness of his situation; and experiencing his unfitness for the management of country business, he came to a determination to sell his estate, and procure a little settlement near some sea-port town, where he might learn what the world was doing and enjoy the conversation of mankind.

He, therefore, left Berkely, and came to Baltimore, where he stayed a week with some old friends, and then took his leave for Philadelphia, where he took lodgings at an inn, the sign of the Connestogoe waggon, in Market street. After being three or four days in the city, he was seized with a fever, which cut him off, after an illness of a few days, 2d October, 1782. In his last struggle, he seemed to have lost his senses, and, it is said, that the last words he was heard to express were, "stand by me, my brave grenadiers." In his last illness he was attended by no one but Mr. Oswald, the printer, who had served as an officer under him.

"The character of general Lee," says Dr. Gordon, "was full of absurdities and qualities of a most extraordinary nature. His understanding was great, his memory capacious, and his fancy brilliant. His mind was stored with a variety of knowledge, which he collected from books, conversation, and travels. He was a correct and elegant classical scholar, and both wrote and spoke his native language with propriety, force and beauty. From these circumstances he was, at times, a most agreeable and instructive companion. His temper was naturally sour and severe. He was seldom seen to laugh, and scarcely to smile. The history of his life is little else than the history of disputes, quarrels and duels, in every part of the world. He was vindictive, avaricious, immoral, impious and profane.

"In his principles, he was not only an infidel, but he was very hostile to every attribute of the Deity.

His morals were exceedingly debauched. His manners were rude, partly from nature, and partly from affectation. His appetite was so whimsicial, as to what he ate and drank, that he was at all times, and in most places, a most troublesome guest. He had been bred to arms from his youth, and served as lieutenant colonel amongst the British, as colonel amongst the Portuguese, and afterwards, as aid-de-camp to his Polish majesty, with the rank of major general."

"He was extremely useful to the Americans in the beginning of the revolution, by inspiring them with military ideas, and a contempt for British discipline and valor. It is difficult to say, whether the active and useful part he took in the contest, arose from personal resentment against Great Britain, or from a regard to the liberties of America. It is certain he reprobated the French alliance and republican form of government, after he retired from the American service. He was in the field, brave in the highest degree; and with all his faults and oddities, was beloved by his officers and soldiers. He was devoid of prudence, and used to call it a *rascally virtue*. His partiality to dogs was too remarkable not to be mentioned in his character. Two or three of these animals followed him generally wherever he went. When congress confirmed the sentence of the court-martial, suspending him for twelve months, he pointed to his dog and exclaimed, "O that I were that animal, that I might not call *man* my brother." Two virtues he possessed in an eminent degree, viz: sincerity and veracity. He was never known to deceive or desert a friend; and he was a stranger to equivocation, even where his safety or character were at stake.

LIFE OF ARNOLD.

Benedict Arnold, a major general in the American army, and infamous for deserting the cause of his country, was early chosen captain of a volunteer company in New Haven, Connecticut, where he lived. After hearing of the battle of Lexington he immediately marched with his company for the American head-quarters, and reached Cambridge April 29, 1775.

He immediately waited on the Massachusetts committee of safety, and informed them of the defenceless state of Ticonderoga. The committee appointed him a colonel, and commissioned him to raise four hundred men, and to take that fortress. He proceeded directly to Vermont, and when he arrived at Castleton was attended by one servant only. Here he joined colonel Allen, and on May 10th the fortress was taken.

In the fall of 1775 he was sent by the commander in chief to penetrate through the wilderness of the district of Maine into Canada. On the 16th of September he commenced his march with about one thousand men, consisting of New England infantry, some volunteers, a company of artillery, and three companies of riflemen. One division was obliged to return, or it would have perished by hunger. After sustaining almost incredible hardships he in six weeks arrived at Point Levi, opposite to Quebec. The appearance of an army, emerging from the wilderness, threw the city into the greatest consternation. In this moment of surprise Arnold might probably have become master of the place, but the small crafts and boats in the river were removed out of his reach.

It seems that his approach was not altogether unexpected. He had imprudently, a number of days before, sent forward a letter to a friend by an Indian who betrayed him. A delay of several days on account of the difficulty of passing the river was inevitable, and the critical moment was lost.

On the 14th of November he crossed the St. Lawrence in the night; and, ascending the precipice, which Wolf had climbed before him, formed his small corps on the height near the memorable plains of Abraham. With only about seven hundred men, one third of whose muskets had been rendered useless in the march through the wilderness, success could not be expected. After parading some days on the heights near the town, and sending two flags to summon the inhabitants, he retired to Point aux Trembles, twenty miles above Quebec, and there waited the arrival of Montgomery, who joined him on the first of December. The city was immediately besieged, but the best measures had been taken for its defence. On the morning of the last day of the year an assault was made on the one side of the city by Montgomery, who was killed. At the same time colonel Arnold, at the head of about three hundred and fifty men, made a desperate attack on the opposite side. Advancing with the utmost intrepidity along the St. Charles through a narrow path, exposed to an incessant fire of grape shot and musketry, as he approached the first barrier he received a musket ball in the leg, which shattered the bone; and he was carried off to the camp. Though the attack was unsuccessful, the blockade of Quebec was continued till May 1776, when the army, which was in no condition to risk an assault was removed to a more defensible position. Arnold was compelled to relinquish one post after another, till the 18th of June, when he quitted Canada. After this period he exhibited great bravery in the command of the American fleet on lake Champlain.

In August 1777 he relieved fort Schuyler under the command of colonel Granesvoort, which was invested by colonel St. Leger with an army of from fifteen to eighteen hundred men. In the battle near Stillwater, September the nineteenth, he conducted himself with his usual intrepidity, being engaged, in-

cessantly, for four hours. In the action of October the seventh, after the British had been driven into the lines, Arnold pressed forward and under a tremendous fire assaulted the works throughout their whole extent from right to left. The intrenchments were at length forced, and with a few men he actually entered the works; but his horse being killed, and he himself badly wounded in the leg, he found it necessary to withdraw, and as it was now almost dark, to desist from the attack.

Being rendered unfit for active service in consequence of his wound, after the recovery of Philadelphia he was appointed to the command of the American garrison. When he entered the city, he made the house of governor Penn, the best house in the city, his head quarters. This he furnished in a very costly manner, and lived far beyond his income. He had wasted the plunder, which he had seized at Montreal in his retreat from Canada; and at Philadelphia he was determined to make new acquisitions. He laid his hands on every thing in the city, which could be considered as the property of those, who were unfriendly to the cause of his country. He was charged with oppression, extortion, and enormous charges upon the public in his accounts, and with applying the public money and property to his own private use. Such was his conduct, that he drew upon himself the odium of the inhabitants not only of the city, but of the province in general. He was engaged in trading, speculations and had shares in several privateers, but was unsuccessful.

From the judgement of the commissioners, who had been appointed to inspect his accounts, and who had rejected above half the amount of his demands, he appealed to congress; and they appointed a committee of their own body to examine and settle the business: The committee confirmed the report of the commissioners, and thought they had allowed him more than he had any right to expect or demand.

By these disappointments he became irritated and he gave full scope to his resentment. His invectives against congress were not less violent, than those, which he had before thrown out against the commissioners. He was, however, soon obliged to abide the judgement of a court martial upon the charges, exhibited against him by the executive of Pennsylvania, and he was subjected to the mortification of receiving a reprimand from Washington. His trial commenced in June 1778, but such were the delays occasioned by the movements of the army, that it was not concluded until the 26th of January 1779. The sentence of a reprimand was approved by congress, and was soon afterwards carried into execution.

Such was the humiliation, to which general Arnold was reduced in consequence of yielding to the temptations of pride and vanity, and indulging himself in the pleasures of a sumptuous table and expensive equipage.

From this time probably his proud spirit revolted from the cause of America. He turned his eyes to West Point as an acquisition, which would give value to treason, while its loss would inflict a mortal wound on his former friends. He addressed himself to the delegation of New York, in which state his reputation was peculiarly high, and a member of congress from this state recommended him to Washington for the service, which he desired. But this request could not be immediately complied with. The same application to the commander in chief was made not long afterwards through general Schuyler. Washington observed, that as there was a prospect of an active campaign he should be gratified with the aid of general Arnold in the field, but intimated at the same time, that he should receive the appointment requested, if it should be more pleasing to him.

Arnold without discovering much solicitude repaired to camp in the beginning of August, and renewed in person the solicitations, which had been before

indirectly made. He was now offered the command of the left wing of the army, which was advancing against New York, but he declined it under the pretext, that in consequence of his wounds, he was unable to perform the active duties of the field. Without a suspicion of his patriotism he was invested with the command of West Point. Previously to his soliciting this station, he had in a letter to colonel Robinson signified his change of principles and his wish to restore himself to the favor of his prince, by some signal proof of his repentance. This letter opened to him a correspondence with sir Henry Clinton, the object of which was to concert the means of putting the important post, which he commanded, into the possession of the British general.

His plan, it is believed, was to have drawn the greater part of his army without the works under the pretext of fighting the enemy in the defiles, and to have left unguarded a designated pass, through which the assailants might securely approach and surprise the fortress. His troops he intended to place, so that they would be compelled to surrender, or be cut in pieces. But just as his scheme was ripe for execution, the wise Disposer of events, who so often and so remarkably interposed in favor of the American cause, blasted his designs.

Major Andre, adjutant general of the British army, was selected as the person, to whom the maturing of Arnold's treason and the arrangements for its execution should be committed. A correspondence was for some time carried on between them under a mercantile disguise and the feigned names of Gustavus and Anderson; and at length to facilitate their communications, the Vulture sloop of war moved up the North river and took a station convenient for the purpose, but not so near as to excite suspicion. An interview was agreed on, and in the night of September the twenty first 1780, he was taken in a boat, which was dispatched for the purpose, and carried to the

beach without the posts of both armies under a pass for John Anderson. He met general Arnold at the house of a Mr. Smith. While the conference was yet unfinished, day light approached; and to avoid the danger of discovery, it was proposed, that he should remain concealed till the succeeding night. He is understood to have refused to be carried within the American posts, but the promise made him by Arnold to respect this objection was not observed. He was carried within them contrary to his wishes and against his knowledge. He continued with Arnold the succeeding day, and when on the following night he proposed to return to the Vulture, the boatmen refused to carry him, because she had, during the day, shifted her station in consequence of a gun having been moved to the shore and brought to bear upon her. This embarrassing circumstance reduced him to the necessity of endeavouring to reach New York by land. Yielding with reluctance to the urgent representations of Arnold, he laid aside his regimentals, which he had hitherto worn under a surtout, and put on a plain suit of clothes; and receiving a pass from the American general, authorizing him, under the feigned name of John Anderson, to proceed on the public service to the White Plains, or lower, if he thought proper, he set on his return. He had passed all the guards and posts on the road without suspicion, and was proceeding to New York in perfect security, when, on the twenty third of September, one of the three militia men, who were employed with others in scouting parties between the lines of the two armies, springing suddenly from his covert into the road, seized the reins of his bridle and stopped his horse. Instead of producing his pass, Andre, with a want of self possession, which can be attributed only to a kind providence, asked the man hastily, where he belonged, and being answered, "to below," replied immediately, "and so do I." He then declared himself to be a British officer, on urgent business, and begged that he

might not be detained. The other two militia men coming up at this moment, he discovered his mistake; but it was too late to repair it. He offered a purse of gold and a valuable watch, to which he added the most tempting promises of ample reward and permanent provision from the government, if they would permit him to escape; but his offers were rejected without hesitation.

The militia men, whose names were John Paulding, David Williams and Isaac Vanwert, proceeded to search him. They found concealed in his boots exact returns, in Arnold's hand writing, of the state of the forces, ordnance, and defences at West Point and its dependencies, critical remarks on the works, and an estimate of the men ordinarily employed in them, with other interesting papers. Andre was carried before lieutenant colonel Jameson, the officer commanding the scouting parties on the lines, and, regardless of himself and only anxious for the safety of Arnold, he still maintained the character, which he had assumed, and requested Jameson to inform his commanding officer, that Anderson was taken. An express was accordingly dispatched, and the traitor, thus becoming acquainted with his danger, escaped.

Major Andre, after his detection, was permitted to send a message to Arnold to give him notice of his danger; and the traitor found opportunity to escape on board the Vulture, on the 25th of September, 1780 a few hours before the return of Washington, who had been absent on a journey to Hartford, Connecticut. It is supposed however, that he would not have escaped, had not an express to the commander in chief, with an account of the capture of Andre, missed him by taking a different road from the one, which he travelled.

Arnold on the very day of his escape wrote a letter to Washington, declaring that the love of his country had governed him in his late conduct, and requesting him to protect Mrs. Arnold. She was conveyed to

her husband at New York, and his clothes and baggage, for which he had written, were transmitted to him. During the exertions, which were made to rescue Andre from the destruction, which threatened him Arnold had the hardihood to interpose. He appealed to the humanity of the commander in chief, and then sought to intimidate him by stating the situation of many of the principal characters of South Carolina, who had forfeited their lives, but had hitherto been spared through the clemency of the British general. This clemency, he said could no longer in justice be extended to them, should major Andre suffer.

Arnold was made a brigadier general in the British service; which rank he preserved throughout the war. Yet he must have been held in contempt and detestation by the generous and honorable. It was impossible for men of this description, even when acting with him to forget that he was a traitor, first the slave of his rage, then purchased with gold, and finally secured by the blood of one of the most accomplished officers in the British army. One would suppose, that his mind could not have been much at ease; but he had proceeded so far in vice, that perhaps his reflections gave him but little trouble. "I am mistaken," says Washington in a private letter, "if *at this time* Arnold is undergoing the torments of a mental hell. He wants feeling. From some traits of his character, which have lately come to my knowledge, he seems to have been so hacknied in crime, so lost to all sense of honor and shame, that while his faculties still enable him to continue his sordid pursuits, there will be no time for remorse."

Arnold found it necessary to make some exertions to secure the attachment of his new friends. With the hope of alluring many of the discontented to his standard, he published an address to the inhabitants of America, in which he endeavoured to justify his conduct. He had encountered the dangers of the field, he said from apprehension, that the rights of his coun-

try were in danger. He had acquiesed in the declaration of independence, though he thought it precipitate. But the rejection of the overtures, made by Great Britain in 1778, and the French alliance, had opened his eyes to the ambitious views of those, who would sacrifice the happiness of their country to their own aggrandizement, and had made him a confirmed loyalist. He artfully mingled assertions, that the principal members of congress held the people in sovereign contempt.

This was followed in about a fortnight by a proclamation, addressed "to the officers and soldiers of the continental army, who have the real interest of their country at heart, and who are determined to be no longer the tools and dupes of congress or of France." To induce the American officers and soldiers to desert the cause, which they had embraced, he represented that the corps of cavalry and infantry, which he was authorized to raise, would be upon the same footing with the other troops in the British service; that he should with pleasure advance those, whose valor he had witnessed; and that the private men, who joined him should receive a bounty of three guineas each, besides payment at the full value for horses, arms, and accoutrements. His object was the peace, liberty, and safety of America. "You are promised liberty," he exclaims, "but is there an individual in the enjoyment of it saving your oppressors? Who among you dare speak or write what he thinks against the tyranny, which has robbed you of your property, imprisons your persons, drags you to the field of battle, and is daily deluging your country with your blood? "What," he exclaims again, "is America now but a land of widows, orphans and beggars? As to you, who have been soldiers in the continental army, can you at this day want evidence, that the funds of your country are exhausted, or that the managers have applied them to their private uses?

In either case you surely can no longer continue in

their service with honor or advantage. Yet you have hitherto been their supporters in that cruelty, which with equal indifference to yours as well as to the labor and blood of others, is devouring a country, that from the moment you quit their colors will be redeemed from their tyranny."

These proclamations did not produce the effect designed, and in all the hardships, sufferings and irritations of the war, Arnold remains the solitary instance of an American officer, who abandons the side first embraced in the contest, and turned his sword upon his former companions in arms.

He was soon dispatched by sir Henry Clinton to make a diversion in Virginia. With about seventeen hundred men he arrived in the Chesapeake in January 1731, and being supported by such a naval force, as was suited to the nature of the service, he committed extensive ravages on the rivers and along the unprotected coasts. It is said, that while on this expedition Arnold enquired of an American captain, whom he had taken prisoner, what the Americans would do with him, if he should fall into their hands. The captain at first declined giving him an answer; but upon being repeatedly urged to it, he said, "why, sir, if "I must answer your question, you must excuse my "telling you the plain truth: if my countrymen "should catch you, I believe *they would first cut* "*off that lame leg, which was wounded in the cause* "*of freedom and virtue, and bury it with the honors* "*of war, and afterwards hang the remainder of* "*your body in gibbets.*" The reader will recollect that the captain alluded to the wound Arnold received in one of his legs at the attack upon Quebeck in 1776.

After his return from Virginia, he was appointed to conduct an expedition, the object of which was the town of New London, in his native country. The troops employed therein, were landed in two detachments, one on each side of the harbor. The one com-

manded by lieutenant colonel Eyre and the other by Arnold. He took Fort Trumbull without much opposition. Fort Griswold was furiously attacked by lieutenant colonel Eyre. The garrison defended themselves with great resolution, but after a severe conflict of forty minutes, the fort was carried by the enemy. The Americans had not more than six or seven men killed, when the British carried the lines, but a severe execution took place afterwards, though resistance had ceased. An officer of the conquering troops enquired on his entering the fort, who commanded. Colonel Ledyard, presenting his sword, answered, "I did, but you do now," and was immediately run through the body and killed. Between 30 and 40 were wounded and about, 40 were carried off prisoners. On the part of the British 48 were killed and 145 wounded. About 15 vessels loaded with the effects of the inhabitants, retreated up the river, and four others remained in the harbor unhurt; but all excepting these were burned by the communication of fire from the burning stores. Sixty dwelling houses and eighty four stores were reduced to ashes. The loss which the Americans sustained by the destruction of naval stores, of provisions, and merchandize, was immense. General Arnold having completed the object of the expedition, returned in eight days to New York.

From the conclusion of the war till his death general Arnold resided chiefly in England. He died in Gloucester place, London, June 14, 1801. His character presents little to be commended. His daring courage may indeed excite admiration; but it was a courage without reflection and without principle. He fought bravely for his country and he bled in her cause; but his country owed him no returns of gratitude, for his subsequent conduct proved, that he had no honest regard to her interests, but was governed by selfish considerations. His progress from self indulgence to treason was easy and rapid. He was vain and luxu-

rious, and to gratify his giddy desires he must resort to meanness, dishonesty, and extortion. These vices brought with them disgrace; and the contempt, into which he fell, awakened a spirit of revenge, and left him to the unrestrained influence of his cupidity and passion. Thus from the high fame, to which his bravery had elevated him, he descended into infamy. Thus too he furnished new evidence of the infatuation of the human mind in attaching such value to the reputation of a soldier, which may be obtained while the heart is unsound and every moral sentiment is entirely depraved.

LIFE OF JONES.

Paul Jones, one of the most enterprising and resolute mariners America had during the contest with Great Britain, was born in the month of June 1748, in Scotland. He came to America in the year 1774 and solicited from several of the leading whigs to be employed in the service of Congress. He also made several important communications to members of congress respecting England, and in return received several sums of money. It was then agreed that Jones should go to Europe for particular information, and he set sail and arrived in England as captain Jones of New York. The English government not being aware of the character that had arrived, he was at liberty to go about the capital, and dwelt for a short time in Wapping, daily buying maps, charts, sounding, and other articles relating to the home navigation. At his return he was strictly examined by several scientific persons, respecting the coasts and harbors of England, Ireland, and Scotland; the result of

which was, a very flattering distinction paid to him by the leaders of the American opposition, and he was soon after appointed to the command of one of the privateers fitted out against England. His success greatly contributed to raise him in the opinion of the great men in America; who in a short time were so thoroughly satisfied with his spirited conduct, that they imposed no sort of command on him, but left him to act consistent with his own ideas, on all occasions. He proved a far greater annoyance to British traders in those parts than any other commander in the service of America.

Paul was now employed to fit out the small squadron which Congress had placed under commodore Hopkins, who had the command of all the armed vessels then belonging to America; and it is a well known fact, that Jones hoisted with his own hands the first American flag ever displayed, on board the Alfred.

He was now appointed to the command of the ship Providence, and was ordered to escort some troops that were proceeding from Rhode Island to New York and who were destined to join general Washington's camp. He also received instructions to escort a convoy of artillery and ammunition from Rhode Island to New York, for the defence of which it was destined. During the passages, he had two different engagements with the Cerborus frigate; the first for the protection of the vessels under his command, and the second for the preservation of a vessel from St. Domingo, laden with naval stores for Congress. In the course of this service, he had many actions with ships of war under the command of lord Howe; but on these, as on former occasions, he was enabled to preserve his convoy; and at length arrived safe in the Delaware, August 1, 1776. On the eighth of August the President of Congress presented Paul Jones in person with the commission of captain in the marine of the United States. This was the first granted by

Congress after the declaration of independence. The orders of Congress had been given, for the construction of thirteen frigates; but as none of them were yet ready, he proceeded to sea alone, on board the Providence, a vessel of small force, as she carried no more than seventy men, and twelve small cannon. When in the neighborhood of Bermudas, they fell in with the Solebay, and her convoy, from Charleston. She was a thirty gun frigate, and formed part of the squadron under Admiral Parker. Captain Jones was of course desirous of avoiding an engagement with such superior force; but his officers and men insisted that it was necessary to command by means of persuasion at this epoch of the war, the result was a serious engagement during six hours, which, towards the close, was carried on within pistol shot. A desperate manoeuvre was the sole resource left him; he attempted, succeeded, and was fortunate enough to disengage himself. A short time after this, he took several prizes, and sailed towards the coast of Nova Scotia, to destroy the whale and cod fisheries in that neighborhood.—Near Sable Island, they fell in with the Milford frigate, carrying thirty-two guns, with which it was impossible to avoid an engagement. A cannonade took place from ten o'clock in the morning until sun-set; but the engagement was neither so close nor so hot as that with the Solebay, and Paul escaped, by passing through the flats, and entered a little harbour next day where he destroyed the fishery and vessels. After this, he set sail for Ile Madame, where he made two descents; at the same time destroying the fisheries, and burning all the vessels he could not carry with him. Having accomplished this service, he returned to Rhode Island, after an absence of seven weeks from the Delaware; during which interval he had taken sixteen prizes, without including those destroyed. The Americans had determined on destroying the enemy's fisheries at Ile Royal, and restoring to liberty more than three hundred American prisoners detain-

ed there in the coal mines. Three vessels were destined for this service, the Alfred, Hampden, and the Providence; but the Hampden, commanded by Arnold, having received considerable damage in consequence of running on a rock, could not accompany him. He, however embarked on board the Alfred, and taking the Providence by way of consort, he set sail, on the second of November, 1776. The first he made prize of was a vessel from Liverpool, and soon after the Mellish, a large armed vessel, having two British naval officers on board, and a captain belonging to the land service, with a company of soldiers.—The ship was carrying ten thousand complete suits of uniform to Canada, for the army posted there under the orders of generals Carleton and Burgoyne. Nothing could be more seasonable or welcome to the American service than this capture; and they were so sensible of it, that Congress ordered their secretary to transmit the public thanks of the country to him, his officers, and men. The Providence having left the Alfred during the night, without the least pretext whatever, he remained alone, and that too during the stormy season on the enemy's coast; but notwithstanding this, and that he was also greatly embarrassed with numerous prisoners, he resolved not to renounce his project. He according effected a descent, destroyed a transport of great value, and also burned the magazines and buildings destined for the whale and cod fishery. In addition to this, he took three transports, and a vessel laden with ling and furs, near Ile Hoyale; these prizes were escorted by the Flora frigate, which happened to be at a small distance, but was concealed from him by a fog. Having taken a large privateer from Liverpool, mounting sixteen guns, in the course of next day, he instantly returned with his prizes towards the United States; but, when in the latitude of Boston, fell in with the Milford frigate, which he unwillingly engaged. Towards night, however, he placed the Alfred between the enemy and his prizes,

and having given the necessary instructions to the latter to make for the nearest port, he changed his course set up his lights, and by this stratagem saved the vessels he had captured, as the frigate continued in chace of him. Next day he was fortunate enough to escape after a serious action, which was not terminated until dark, and even then in consequence of a hard gale of wind. Having returned to Boston, December 1, 1776, the intelligence of the uniforms he had taken, reanimated the courage of the army under general Washington, which at that period happened to be almost destitute of clothing. Besides, this unexpected succour contributed not a little to the success of the affair at Trenton against the Hessians, which took place immediately after his arrival. He now paid out of his own purse the wages due to the crews of the Alfred and the Providence, and lent the rest of his money to Congress.

Jones was now ordered to take command of the Ranger, a vessel mounting eighteen guns. In 1777 he sailed for France, where he arrived February 1778. He then sailed for the place of his birth, and then his father's residence, the coast of Scotland. It was his intention to take the Earl of Selkirk prisoner, and detain his lordship as a hostage. With this view, he landed with two officers and a few picked men. In the course of their progress they fell in with several of his lordship's tenants, who, not suspecting they were enemies, informed them that lord Selkirk was in London, but that her ladyship and several female friends were then at the Castle. Paul immediately proposed returning, but such mild conduct was not conformable to the wishes of his ship mates, who were inclined to burn, pillage, & destroy, every thing before them. Thus circumstanced, he perceived it necessary to conciliate his people, and it appeared to him to be the best mode to give orders to the two officers to repair to the Castle, station the men under arms without, and enter by themselves. They were instructed to demand the fam-

ily plate, in the politest manner, accept what was given without asking questions, and then to return. In this order he was punctually obeyed; the plate was delivered, and lady Selkirk observed to the officers, that she was extremely sensible of their moderation.

Next day, April 23, 1778, he prepared to sail for Carrickfergus, to attack the Drake, a British twenty gun ship; but the lieutenants were averse to this enterprise, and, by their example, most of the crew became mutinous, and it was their intention to have stood out to sea, and left him ashore at Whitehaven. In the mean while, the captain of the Drake receiving information of their descent at Whitehaven, prepared to attack Jones. While every thing was getting ready, he sent a lieutenant and boats crew to reconnoitre the Ranger; Jones immediately masked all his guns, kept his men out of sight, and disguised the vessel in such a way as to resemble a merchantman; in consequence of which, the boat's crew were deceived and taken prisoners; and the Ranger's people were so elated at this success, that they unanimously agreed to give her battle.

The Drake, having fired a gun to recal her boat, weighed anchor and came out. The Ranger lay too till she came within pistol shot, when the action commenced, with much gallantry, on both sides. After a hard fought battle of sixty eight minutes, during which the captain and the first lieutenant of the Drake, nobly fell, the English flag was lowered, and Jones took possession of his prize. The Drake was greatly damaged in her masts, hull, and rigging, and lost about forty-two men in killed and wounded. He arrived with the Ranger and Drake at Brest on the 7th of May, after an absence of twenty eight days, during which he had taken upwards of two hundred prisoners. This expedition was of great detriment to Great Britain.

At the time Jones had been obliged to permit his people to take lady Selkirk's plate, he determined to

redeem it out of his own funds, the moment it should be sold, and restore it to the family. Accordingly, on his arrival at Brest, he instantly despatched a pathetic letter to her ladyship, in which he detailed the motives of his expedition, and the cruel necessity he was under, in consequence of the conduct of the English in America, to inflict the punishment of retaliation. This was sent open to the government of England and its ministers; and the court of St. James was at length obliged to exchange those very Americans, whom they called traitors, pirates, and felons, against the prisoners of war, whom Paul had taken and carried to France.

During the course of the war, he found it impossible to restore the plate belonging to the Selkirk family: he, however, purchased it at a great price, and at length found means to send it by land from l'Orient to Calais, by means of M. de Calloune, who transmitted him a very flattering letter on the occasion: in short, he at length received a very flattering letter from the earl of Selkirk, acknowledging the receipt of the plate.

Jones now took the command of a forty gun ship, called the Good Man Richard, and had attached to him Le Pallas, of thirty two eight pounders, and a brig named Le Vengeance, of twelve three pounders; to these was added Le Cerf, a cutter carrying eighteen nine pounders, with the Alliance, a new frigate belonging to the United States.

This little squadron, at length set sail from the road of Groays, on the 14th of August, 1779; but they had no sooner proceeded to the north of the channel, when three of his vessels were separated from him during the night. On the morning of the 23d of September, while he was cruising in the latitude of Flamborough Head, where he hoped to be rejoined by the Alliance and Le Cerf, and also to fall in with the Baltic fleet, this convoy accordingly appeared, at a time when he had been abandoned by several of his consorts; had

lost two boats with their crews, who had run away on the coast of Ireland, and when a third, with eighteen men on board, was in chase of a merchantman, to the windward, leaving him with only a scanty crew and a single lieutenant, with some inferior officers on board. It was about two o'clock in the afternoon that the Baltic fleet appeared in view; he then happened to have the wind of it, and was about two leagues distant from the coast of England. He learned from his prisoners, that the convey was escorted by the Serapis, a new vessel, then carrying 44 guns, the lower battery carrying eighteen pounders; and the Countess of Scarborough, a new twenty-two gun ship. On Friday, six sail was discovered about two leaugues from shore, in a most shattered condition. They were no sooner descried, than the armed vessels stood out to sea, while the trade ships took refuge under the cannon of Scarborough-castle. As there was but little wind, he could not come up with the enemy before night. The moon did not rise until eight, and at the close of day the Seradis and Countess of Searborough tacked and stood in for the fortress. Paul was lucky enough to discover this manœuvre by means of his night-glass, and immediately altered his course six points, with a view of cutting off the enemy; which was no sooner perceived by the Pallas, than it was supposed his crew had mutined, which induced her captain to hawl his wind, and stand out to sea; while the Alliance lay-to, to windward, at a very considerable distance; and, thus deserted, he was obliged to run all risks, and enter into action with the Richard only, to prevent the enemy's escape. He accordingly began the engagement at seven o'clock at night, within pistol shot of the Searapis, and sustained the brunt of it for nearly a whole hour at that distance, exposed, not only to her fire, but also that of the Countess of Scarborough.

In this unfortunate extremity, the Richard being in imminent danger of going to the bottom, and her guns

being no longer in a condition to return the enemy's fire, he had recourse, to a dangerous expedient,—to grapple with the Serapis. This manœuvre succeeded admirably; he fastened the Serapis with his own hands, to the Richard; and the captain of the countess of Scarborough, from that moment, ceased to fire upon him. That vessel being to windward at the moment Paul had grappled, instantly dropped her anchor, hoping by this to disengage himself from him; but this did not answer her expectation. The enemy, however, possessed the advantage of their two batteries, besides the guns on their forecastle and quarter-deck; while Paul's cannon were either burst or abandoned, excepting four pieces on the forecastle, which were also relinquished during some minutes. At that period, having no greater object to occupy his attention, Paul himself took his post; a few sailors came to his assistance, and served the two guns next to the enemy with surprising courage and address. A short time after this, he received sufficient help to be able to remove one of the forecastle guns from the opposite side, so that they could only bring three to bear upon the enemy during the remainder of the action. It so happened at this period, that the main mast of the Serapis, which was painted yellow, appeared extremely distinct, so as to form an excellent mark; on this, he pointed one of his guns at it, taking care to ram home the shot. In the mean time, the two other pieces were admirably served against the Serapis, and swept its forecastle, by means of an oblique fire. The tops also seconded them bravely, by means of musquetry and swivels, and threw a multitude of grenades, so as greatly to annoy the enemy. By these means they were driven from their quarters, notwithstanding their superiority in point of men and artillery. The captain of the Serapis resolved to strike; but an unlucky accident, occurred on board the Richard, prevented this. A bullet having destroyed one of the pumps the carpenter was seized with a panic, and told

the gunner, and another petty officer, that the Richard was sinking. Some one observed at the same time, that both the commodore and the lieut. were killed; in consequence of which, the gunner, considering himself as commanding officer, ran instantly to the quarter deck, in order to hawl down the American colours, but he soon found his mistake, on seeing Paul commanding at the guns.

The captain of the Serapis, on hearing the gunner express his wishes to surrender, instantly addressed himself to Jones, and exclaimed, "Do you ask for quarter? Do you ask for quarter?" Paul was so occupied at this period, that he remained totally ignorant of what had occured on deck. He replied, however, "I do not dream of surrendering, but am determined to make you strike!" On turning round, Paul perceived lieutenant Grubb in the act of striking the colours, and seizing a pistol instantly shot him dead! This is a fact well known, although Paul has passed it over in silence in his writing. It has been observed, that, when Jones commenced the action, the Pallas was at a great distance to windward, while the Alliance lay-to in the same position. When the captain of the former perceived that the engagement took place, he spoke to his consort, but lost a great deal of time: and it was not until now that they came within gunshot of the countess of Scarborough, and a kind of running fight took place between the latter and the Pallas. The Alliance followed them, and, on passing the Commodore fired a broadside, which did more harm to them than to the Commodore. The battle still continued with uncommon ardor between the Richard and the Serapis; whose rigging was burned, and her main mast cut away; while the heavier metal of the English drove in one of the sides of the Richard, and met with little resistance. In short, their helm was rendered useless; and the poop was only supported by an old and shattered piece of timber, which alone prevented it from giving way. After a short engagement, the

countesss of Scarborough surrendered to the Pallas. It was then that the captain of the latter asked the commander of the Alliance, "Whether he would take charge of the prize, or sail and give succour to the commodore?" On this the Alliance began to stand backwards and forwards under her top sails, until, having got to the windward, she came down, and discharged a second broadside against the fore part of the Serapis and the stern of the Richard. On this, the commodore begged for God's sake that they would cease firing, and send a few men on board of them; but he disobeyed, and fired another broadside as he passed along.

The idea that the Richard was sinking had taken such possession of the gunner and carpenter's minds, that they actually opened the scuttles, and made all the prisoners, to the number of a hundred, sally forth, in opposition to the commander's reiterated orders. This even might have proved fatal, had he not taken advantage of their affright, to station them at the pumps, where they displayed surprising zeal, appearing actually to forget their captivity; for there was nothing to prevent their going on the Serapis; or it was in their power to put an end to the engagement in an instant, by either killing Jones, or throwing him into the sea. As the Richard's three quarter-deck guns continued to play on the Serapis, raked her stern, and damaged her mast in such a manner, that it was only supported from falling by the yards of their own ship, while the tops poured in a continual discharge; the fire of the English began to deaden in such a manner as to bereave them of all hope of ultimate success. A circumstance, however, occurred, that contributed not a little to the victory of the Richard: this was the extraordinary intrepidity and presence of mind of a Scotch sailor, posted in the main-top. This brave fellow, of his own accord, seized a lighted match, and a basket of hand-grenades, with which he advanced along the main yard, until he had arrived exactly

above the Serapis's deck. As the flames of their parapets and shrouds, added to the light of the moon, enabled him to distinguish objects, the moment he perceived two or three persons assembled together, he instant discharged a hand grenade among them. At length, the captain of the Serapis came upon the quarter-deck, lowered his flag, and asked for quarter, at the very moment his main-mast had fallen into the sea. He then came on board with his officers, and presented the commodore with his sword.—While this was transacting, eight or ten men belonging to the Richard, seized on the Serapis's shallop, which had been at anchor during the engagement, and made off. It was eleven o'clock when the battle ended; it had consequently lasted more than four hours. During the last three hours of the engagement both the vessels were on fire; by throwing water on the flames, it was sometimes supposed that they were quenched; but they always broke forth anew, and at the close of the action were not wholly extinguished.

Next morning the weather was hazy, and not a single sail to be seen. They examined the Richard, to see if it were possible to carry her into any port; and this proving wholly impracticable, all the boats were employed in carrying the wounded on board the other vessels. This occupied much of their time; and on the succeeding day the vessel sunk. On this occasion, the commodore could only save the signal flags, and he lost all his property, amounting to more than 25,000 livres. The commodore now assumed the command of the Serapis, on which he erected jury-masts; but the sea was so tempestuous that it was ten days before they reached the Texel. No sooner was his arrival known, than forty-two vessels, forming different squadrons of frigates, were fitted out from the various ports of Great Britain against him, and two of these were stationed during three months at the mouths of the Texel and the Fly.

On his arrival in America Congress passed an act,

dated April 14, 1781, in which he was thanked, in the most flattering manner, "for the zeal, the prudence, and the intrepidity, with which he sustained the honor of the American flag; for his bold and successful enterprise, with a view to redeem from captivity the citizens of America, who had fallen into the hands of the English; and for the eminent services by which he had added lustre to his own character and the arms of America." A committee of Congress was also of opinion, "that he deserved a gold medal in remembrance of his services."

LIFE OF BAINBRIDGE.

William Bainbrige, was born at Princeton, New-Jersey, May 7th, 1774. His father was a respectable Physician of that place. He received his education under the care of his grand-father, John Taylor, of Monmouth County: which consisted of the ordinary branches of English instruction and the French language.

At the age of sixteen, he commenced a clerk-ship in a counting-house at New-York, and after a short service, went to sea in the employ of Miller and Murray. His services and conduct, were so satisfactory to them, that at the age of eighteen, they gave him a mate's birth in the ship Hope, in a voyage to Holland. During this voyage, the crew mutinied, in a gale of wind, and had nearly succeeded in throwing the Capt. overboard, when Bainbridge, hearing the alarm, took a pistol, (which was however destitute of a lock,) and by the assistance of an Irish apprentice-boy, seized the ringleader, and restored order on board. At the age of nineteen, he had command of a ship in the Dutch

trade, and continued in command of various ships in the European trade until 1798. In 1796 on a voyage from Bourdeaux to St. Thomas, with but four small guns and nine men, he was engaged by a British schooner, commanded by a Sailing master, mounting nine guns and manned with thirty-five men. After killing several of her crew he compelled her to strike, and as the two countries were at peace, indignantly sent her away to *make report of her action.*

In July 1798, and without application from him, he was offered the command of the U. S. schooner Retaliation of fourteen guns, which he accepted under a Lieutenant's commission, conditioned that he should stand first of that grade for promotion.

In the fall of that year the Retaliation, in cruising to windward of Gaudaloupe, was captured by two French Frigates and a Lugger. General Desfourneaux was on board of one of these Frigates on his passage to take command of the Island in place of Victor Hughes. To demonstrate a seeming friendship towards our government, arising from political motives as it would appear, he proposed that Bainbridge should take his ship and return to the United States, when at the same time, other American vessels of much greater value, were retained and their crews treated as criminals. Perceiving the flimsey thread of his finesse, Bainbridge replied that he wished either to be considered a prisoner of war, or to have his commission restored, with liberty to cruise against the commerce of France, agreeably to instructions from his government. The General, after threatening to put every American to the sword, should the Retaliation be found cruising against the French, ordered him to proceed to the United States, with his ship and forty of his crew. Soon after his return, an exchange was effected; and he again sailed on a cruise to the West-Indies, in the brig Norfolk, of eighteen guns, under the commission of master-commandant during which cruise he compelled a Privateer of six-

teen guns to run ashore, and captured another, with several merchant vessels, and destroyed a number of barges.

On his return from that cruise, he sailed in a squadron, for the protection of the United States' trade, to Cuba; and on leaving that station, was presented with an address, from the American merchants, concerned in the trade, in testimony "of the vigilance, perseverance, and urbanity which had marked his conduct during his arduous command on that station," and the "essential services which he had rendered to his country."

On his return to the United States in 1800, he sailed in the frigate George Washington, under a Captain's commission, with presents to the Dey of Algiers, as agreed upon by treaty. He was well received by the Dey, who presented him with an elegant Turkish sabre in testimony of the personal friendship which he entertained towards him, as well as the power which he represented. But appearances soon changed. Avarice being a predominant passion, he soon became unmindful of the treasures bestowed upon him, and in a few days made a demand of the George Washington, to carry his ambassador and presents to the Grand Seignior of Constantinople, under a pretence of a stipulation in our treaty with him. This treaty, however, related only to our merchant vessels, but as the Frigate was then in harbour, and completely in his power; and as the Dey threatened in case of refusal to imprison every American in Algiers, he was under the necessity of complying.

This expedition was however favourable to our government. The American flag being entirely unknown to the Grand Seignior, three Officers were sent in succession, to inquire what ship it was, and what flag she bore—they knew not what was meant by an *American Frigate*, and it was not until Capt. Bainbridge explained that America was the New

World, that they had any conception of the country. The Messengers from the Dey were ordered on board the Capudan Pacha, (or Turkish High Admiral's ship,) who tore the letters, spat and stamped upon them, and rejected the presents with indignation. The Dey was ordered to declare war against France within sixty days. At the same time Com. Bainbridge was received with marked attention. The Algerine flag, which he had been compelled to carry at his mizen, was ordered to be hauled down, the American shifted to its place, and Com. Bainbridge rewarded with presents.

The excellent order of his ship, and fine healthy appearance of his crew, seemed to be a convincing proof in the mind of the Seignior, that the "new world" which he represented must be already great and powerful.

In December, the George Washington sailed for Algiers, with the ambassador's secretary to give an account of the unfortunate result of his embassy; where he arrived on the 21st Jan. having touched at Malta to land some Turks, as a favour to the Capudan Pacha. Finding that Captain Bainbridge was in favour with the Turkish Admiral, (who was related to the Grand Seignior by marriage,) and learning likewise the order of the Grand Seignior, the tyrant was so effectually humbled, that he released four hundred prisoners, and declared war against France. The consul and other French subjects then in port, were received on board the George Washington; and after landing them in Alicant, Capt. Bainbridge arrived at Philadelphia, April 1801, receiving from his government the highest approbation for his conduct during this delicate service.

In June following he again sailed to the Mediterranean in the Essex, where he was employed in protecting American and other neutral ships, against Tripolitan cruisers, and from whence he returned to New York in July, 1802.

In July 1803, he sailed in the Frigate Philadelphia, to join Com. Preble's squadron in the Mediterranean. Off Cape de Gatt, he fell in with and captured the Mirbohar of 22 guns and 110 men, from Morocco, and re-took an American Brig, seized by her a short time previous. On board the Mirbohar they found orders by which it appeared that the Emperor of Morocco was about commencing depredations upon American commerce. The capture of this ship put an end to hostilities, and a permanent peace was established.

In company with the Vixen, Capt. Bainbridge then proceeded to blockade the harbour of Tripoli, and on the 31st Oct. seeing a strange ship, gave chase to her, and when within four miles and an half of the harbour, unfortunately ran upon a pile of rocks; which, as it appeared were not laid down on our charts. This was indeed a dilemma, not foreseen, and which could not be overcome. Guns were thrown overboard, water started and the fore-mast cut away, but all to no purpose. The enemy's Gun-Boats immediately commenced an attack, which was sustained six hours, when she turned so far upon her side, that the guns could not be brought to bear; and Capt. Bainbridge was under the necessity of surrendering, but not until he had first thrown overboard every article of value, drowned the magazine and scuttled the ship. The officers and crew were then seized by the Algerines, stripped without ceremony of whatever was found upon them valuable, and conveyed by the boats on shore, and from thence to the Pacha's Castle.

The treatment which they received, was far more mild than they had reason to anticipate. After the burning of the Philadelphia by Decatur, on 16th Feb. 1804, they were closely confined, not so much with a view to make them suffer, as through fear of their escape.

The bombardment of the town—the burning of the Philadelphia—the explosion of the fire-ship, and the various attacks made upon the town, all passed within

their view; and at one time, a twenty four pound shot passed within a few inches of Bainbridge's head; still they were compelled to remain inactive witnesses to the efforts of their countrymen.

At length a treaty was concluded by Col. Lear, and the sum of sixty thousand dollars having been paid to the Pacha, the officers and seamen were liberated, June 3d 1805, after nineteen months confinement, and embarked on board the squadron. Soon after Com. Bainbridge returned to the United States.

After various commands in the peace establishment, at the declaration of war with Great Britain in 1812, he was ordered to the command of the Constellation, and from thence to the Constitution. In company with the Sloop of War Hornet, he set sail on a cruise to the East Indies, and having parted with her running down the coast of Brazil, fell in with the British Frigate Java, a new ship, carrying 49 guns, and upwards of four hundred men. She had on board more than one hundred supernumerary officers and seamen, destined for the East India service. The action continued one hour and fifty-five minutes, when the Java was left a mere wreck, with not a spar standing. The commanding officer, Capt. Lambert, was mortally wounded. It being found impossible to get her to the United States, the prisoners and baggage were taken out, and the ship blown up. Her loss in killed, was 60, and between one and two hundred wounded. Nine were killed on board the Constitution, and twenty-five wounded, and among the latter was the Commodore.

The victory was brilliant, and in the highest degree honourable to Com. Bainbridge; but not more so than the kindness and courtesy, which he manifested towards the prisoners while under his charge: and as a characteristic of our Naval commanders generally, we are proud to add, that they have given ample testimony that they are as "gentle in peace," as "dauntless in war." Having conquered, the expectations of their country are answered, and they no longer consider the

conquered enemy a foe. The Constitution being in a decayed state, the Com. was induced to abandon the contemplated cruise, and return to the United States. He was soon after appointed to the command of the Eastern Station, and to the superintendance of building the seventy-four at Charlestown. He has been up the Mediterranean, in command of the Columbus 74 gun-ship, and has since filled responsible stations, with a reputation still unsullied. America is proud to enroll him among the first of her sons.

LIFE OF PORTER.

DAVID PORTER, was born at Boston, Feb. 1st, 1780. His father was an officer in the Navy, during the Revolutionary War, and was distinguished by his courage and daring spirit.

The first vogage undertaken by the subject of this sketch, was in a trading vessel, commanded by his father, to St. Domingo. Whilst at the port of Jeremie, in that island, a press-gang attempted to board, and were gallantly repelled, with the loss of several killed, on both sides. Young Porter, who was then but sixteen, had his share in the engagement. One man was shot down by his side, and the affair reflected much praise upon the Captain, and his crew. In his second voyage, he was twice impressed by the British, but effected his escape; and returned home, in the winter season, in a suffering condition, for want of clothing.

Soon after this, he entered the United States Navy, as Midshipman; sailed in the Constellation with Com. Truxton, and in the action with the French Frigate Insurgente, distinguished himself, by the gallantry of his conduct. When advanced to the rank of Lieutenant, it was by dint of merit, having no friends to bring him into notice. Joining the U. S. Schooner

Experiment, commanded by Capt. Maly, they proceeded on a cruise to the West Indies, fell in with a number of Brigand barges, when he was again brought into honourable notice. He was likewise employed in boats, cutting out vessels, where he greatly distinguished himself by good judgment and personal prowess.

Whilst on that station he took charge of a small Pilot-boat, mounting five small swivels, taken from the tops of the Constellation.

Falling in with a French Privateer, mounting a long twelve pounder, with several swivels, and having forty men he determined to engage her. The contest was for some time doubtful, but the Privateer at length surrendered, having lost seven killed, and fifteen wounded. Porter had several killed, but none wounded. A prize which the Privateer had in company, was likewise taken. His conduct on this occasion was highly spoken of by his commander. In his second expedition to the West Indies, with Capt. Charles Stewart, they were likewise successful in operating against the Privateers.

In the first squadron to the Mediterranean, Porter was first Lieutenant of the Enterprise, Capt. Stewart, and rendered himself very conspicuous, in an engagement with a Tripolitan Corsair, of much greater force, which, in the event, was compelled to surrender.

On another occasion, with an expedition of boats, he entered the harbour of Tripoli, to destroy a number of vessels laden with wheat, which service was performed effectually; but in the engagement, he received a ball through his thigh.

Nothing of consequence occurred after he received his wound, until the 31st Oct. 1803. Porter had been previously transferred to the Frigate Philadelphia, as first Lieutenant under Capt. Bainbridge; and was on board when she ran aground, at that date, near the harbour of Tripoli; was taken possession of by the enemy, and the crew made prisoners. It will be

unnecessary to detail the particulars of that disastrous affair, as the facts are generally so well known. It is sufficient to add, that during a long and dreary confinement, he never suffered himself to sink into despondency, but applied himself closely to his study; thus preparing the way to become a still more useful member of his country and of society. A treaty of peace having at length been concluded with Tripoli, the officers and crew of the Philadelphia were set at liberty, and sailed to join the squadron at Syracuse. Porter having been appointed to the command of the U. S. Brig Enterprise, proceeded to cruise in the Mediterranean.

Passing the streights of Gibraltar, he was attacked by twelve Spanish Gun-Boats, pretending to suppose she was a British Brig. Although their weight of metal was vastly superior, he soon compelled them to sheer off.

After an arduous service of five years, he returned to the United States, was married to Miss Anderson of Pennsylvania; and afterwards took command of the Flotilla on the New Orleans station, where he rendered important services in enforcing the embargo and non-intercourse laws. In this service he likewise ferretted out, and captured a French Piratical schooner, which had so long infested the Chesapeake, as to attract the attention of Government.

At the declaration of War, with Great Britain, in 1812, he sailed from New York, in command of the Essex, fell in with, and after a short engagement, captured the British Sloop of War Alert, Capt. Laugharne.

Returning to the United States, to refit, he again put to sea Oct. 27th, 1812, and proceeded to the coast of Brazil, agreeably to instructions from Com. Bainbridge, where places for rendezvous had been agreed upon between them. On that Coast he fell in with his majesty's Packet Nocton, out of which he took £11,000 sterling in specie. About this time he heard

of the capture of the Java, by Com. Bainbridge, and of his return to the U. S.; likewise that the Hornet had been taken by the Montague, and that the British force on that coast was considerably increased, and were in pursuit of him. He therefore abandoned his ground, and ran down as far as Rio de La Plata; from thence to the Pacific Ocean, and reached Valparaiso, March 14th, 1813. Sailing from thence down the coast of Chili, and Peru, he brought too a Peruvian corsair, and found on board twenty-four Americans held as prisoners, whom he liberated throwing her guns and ammunition into the sea. He continued cruising for several months in the Pacific, capturing great numbers of British vessels. Two were given to the prisoners; three sent to Valparaiso, and three to America. Most of the ships taken mounted several guns. He therefore equipped one with twenty guns, and gave the command to Lieutenant Downes, calling her the Essex, jr.

The numerous prizes taken, furnished him abundantly with provisions, clothing, and naval stores; so that, without inconvenience, he was enabled to keep at sea for a long time. From the spoils of his enemy he had now under his command a little squadron, which spread devastation, and became the terror of those seas. Merchants not only in the ports of the Pacific, but in Great Britain, groaned under the weight of losses; every arrival bringing a catalogue of captures. Although ships were sent after him into the Pacific, the China Seas, off New-Timor, New-Holland and the river La Plata; still the manner in which he cruised, completely eluded their vigilance. Shunning the American coast, he was either lying among the desolate groups which form the Gallipagos islands, or in the open seas. At length, Lieut. Downes returned from Valparaiso, whither he had sailed to convoy the prizes, and brought intelligence, that Com. Hillyer was expected at that place with the Frigate Phœbe, of 36 guns, and two Sloops of War. He

had become glutted with spoils, and the easy captures of Merchantmen were not calculated to raise him to that zenith of fame, after which he aspired. As an opportunity now appeared to present, in which it was probable he might meet the enemy on equal terms, he determined to embrace it; and after running into the Island of Nooaheeva, to repair, proceeded to Valparaiso. While here, at anchor, Com. Hillyer arrived, but contrary to anticipation, with a Frigate superior in size to his, and accompanied by the Cherub, Sloop of War, both fitted out with picked crews, expressly for this enterprise. Their force amounted to 81 guns, and 500 men, with the crew of a Letter of Marque. That of the Essex of 46 guns, and 255 men. The Essex Jun. being designed for a store ship, mounted ten 18 pound carronades, and ten short sixes, with but 60 men.

This disparity of force would not permit the venture of a general action. He therefore endeavored to provoke a challenge from the Phœbe, although vastly superior to the Essex, but without effect. Fearing an addition would be made to their force, he wished if possible to make his escape.

On the 28th March, a gale came on, and the Essex parting her cable, the Com. thought that a more favourable opportunity would not occur, to pass the enemy, and sail was therefore ordered to be immediately made. On clearing the harbour, a sudden squall carried away the main-top-mast, and finding it impossible to return, he ran into a bay at some distance from his former anchorage, expecting that the enemy would respect the neutrality of the port, but in this he was disappointed. Both ships now drew up, and commenced an attack upon the Essex. Capt. Porter succeeded three different times in getting springs upon his cables, but they were as often shot away, leaving him exposed to a raking fire from the enemy. In this situation, his chief dependance was upon three long twelves from her stern, which were managed so dex-

terously that the enemy were obliged to hall off, and repair. His crew were not, however, disheartened, although morally certain of being conquered.

The conflict was sustained with unabated fury, until resistance was ineffectual, when the flag was struck, and the ship resigned to an overwhelming force. Out of 255 men, 58 were killed, 66 wounded, and 31 missing; making in all 154. The spectacle was truly horrid; and when the officer came on board, to take possession, he turned from the spectacle, as if sickened at its sight.

It was with difficulty that either the Essex or Phœbe, could be got into the harbour of St. Salvador, both being very much injured, the latter having 18 shots in the hull, and some of them three feet under water.

Capt. Porter and his crew were soon after paroled, and returned to New York. On landing, a carriage was provided for him, and drawn by the populace, to his lodgings, with shouts and acclamations.

The mere loss of the Essex, could hardly be considered unfortunate, as she had done more injury to the enemy's commerce than the rest of the Navy together.

Since the close of the war, Captain Porter has been in various commands, he has been one of the Navy Commissioners, and is at this time, in command of the Squadron among the West India Islands, to suppress the pirates, and enjoys alike the confidence of Government, and the love of his Country.

LIFE OF LAWRENCE.

JAMES LAWRENCE, was born at Burlington New Jersey, October 1st, 1781. His father, John Lawrence. Esq. was an eminent counsellor at law of the same place. By the death of his mother he was left in infancy in the charge of his sisters. Affectionate in disposition and ardent in his attachments, he ever entertained towards them the warmest gratitude, for their tenderness and care in his early youth. He entered as midshipman in the service of his country, at about the age of sixteen, where his strict attention to the discharge of his duties, and his endearing manners gained him the esteem of both officers and seamen.

At the declaration of war with Tripoli, he was promoted to a Lieutenancy, and volunteered his services as first Lieut. under Decatur in destroying the Frigate Philadeldhia, one of the most brilliant and gallant enterprises ever undertaken and executed by man.

After continuing in the Mediterranean three and a half years, he returned to the U. S. and was again sent on that station, in command of Gun Boat No. 6, where he remained sixteen months. After that time, he commanded the Vixen, Wasp, Argus and Hornet. At the commencement of the war in 1812, he sailed in the Hornet Sloop of War, under Commodore Rodgers. His second cruise in the Hornet was in company with Com. Bainbridge, who commanded the Constitution. While coasting off the Brazils, he fell in with the Bonne Citoyenne, a British ship of war, and chased her into St. Salvador. Notwithstanding she was of superior force, Lawrence sent her a challenge, which was refused, although he pledged his honour that no other American vessel should interfere.

Leaving St. Salvador, on the morning of Feb. 24th, off Demarara, he fell in with the British Brig Peacock, Capt. Peake, of equal force. The contest com-

menced within half pistol shot, and in fifteen minutes the Peacock hoisted signals of distress, being in a sinking condition from the fire of the Hornet. Every exertion was made to keep her afloat until the prisoners could be removed, but notwithstanding she went down with thirteen of her crew, and three American tars, who nobly perished in relieving a conquered foe. Among the slain, was Capt. Peake. He received two wounds: the last proving mortal. He was laid in the cabin, and with his flag for a shroud, and ship for a sepulchre, this brave sailor sunk to rest; an interment worthy of so brave a man.

The treatment of Lawrence towards his prisoners was such as to draw from the officers the expression, that "they ceased to consider themselves prisoners." Finding that the crew had lost all their clothing, to the honour of our tars, a subscription was made, and each man supplied from his own wardrobe two shirts, a blue jacket and trowsers.

Capt. Lawrence was received with great applause on his return to this country, having in the interim been promoted to the rank of Post Captain. Soon after his return he was appointed to the command of the Frigate Constitution; but the next day to his great chagrin, the order was countermanded, with directions to take the Chesapeake then lying at Boston. This ship was considered the worst in the Navy, and the circumstance of her having been disgraced in the affair of the Leopard, acquired for her, among sailors the reputation of being an unlucky ship; so much so, that it was with difficulty crews could be recruited for her.

Four successive letters were written by Lawrence to the Secretary of the Navy, requesting to be continued in the command of the Hornet, but receiving no answer, he was under the necessity of complying with the order.

Being nearly ready for sea at Boston, the British Frigate Shannon, Capt. Broke Commander, appear-

ed off the harbour, hoisting signals expressive of a challenge. The Shannon was one of the best ships in the British Navy, equipped in the best manner, and manned with a picked crew for the express purpose of fighting our largest Frigates. The Chesapeake was not only an indifferent ship, but manned mostly by new recruits.

Lawrence however determined to accept the challenge, although sensible of the disparity under which he laboured. He had formerly challenged the Bonne Citoyenno, and should he now decline, it might occasion public remarks to his discredit. To his crew he was a stranger, and even in the midst of the customary harangue previous to the engagement, murmurs of dissatisfaction were heard from them. A Portuguese replied to Capt. Lawrence, complaining that they had not receive their prize money.

It was a critical moment, and the Captain therefore thought it advisable to order the purser to give them checks. Under these embarrassing circumstances the action was fought, June 1, 1813.

The vessels manœuvred until within pistol shot, when both at about the same instant opened their broadsides. The Chesapeake had the advantage, until unfortunately by the death of three men, shot from the helm, successively, the vessel lost her way and caught by the anchor, in one of the Shannon's after ports. In this situation the enemy's guns were brought into a raking position, killing or wounding the greater part of the crew. Capt. Lawrence had at this time received a mortal wound, and although destruction appeared inevitable, exclaimed, "*don't give up the ship.*" The enemy soon after boarded and the strife was at an end. Lawrence languished in great bodily pain for four days, and expired. He was wrapped in the flag of the Chesapeake, and conveyed to Halifax on board the Shannon. At his interment the British officers crowded to yield the last sad honours to him who so bravely fought, and who now no longer was

their foe. By order of government, a vessel was soon after dispatched to Halifax, in which his remains were conveyd to his native state, and deposited with his fathers.

Deeply as may be regretted the fate of the engagement, we have no cause to lament, as nothing of honour was lost in the conflict. The name of Lawrence with his worthy associates who fell on that eventful day, is immortalized in the records of fame.

LIFE OF MACDONOUGH.

THE father of Capt. Thomas Macdonough, resided in the county of New-Castle, Delaware, on a farm called the Trapp. He was conspicuously eminent in the practice of Physic, and in the year 1775, was appointed Major in Col. John Haslett's Regiment, raised by the State of Delaware, but did not long continue in the servise. After the close of the revolutionary struggle, he received the appointment of Judge which office he held until 1796, at which time he died. His eldest son, James, was with Com. Truxton in the engagement between the Constellation and Insurgente; at which time he lost his leg and which rendered it necessary for him to retire from service.

Thomas Macdonough, the subject of the present sketch, entered the United States' service, under a Midshipman's warrant, not long after the death of his father. After serving some time in our Navy, he sailed with the little fleet up the Mediterranean, where he (with other young officers,) rendered himself conspicuous in the wars with Tripoli.

He was remarkable for his gravity and circumspec-

tion, and at the same time evinced a dauntless invincibility of spirit, which was not to be counteracted, even by Mahometan prowess.

The following incident displays his firmness and decision of character. A merchant's Brig, came into port, whilst Capt. Smith was on shore, and anchored ahead of the Syren. A short time after, a British Frigate, then lying in port, sent a boat on board the Brig and came off with one man more than she went with. Macdonough learning that they had impressed an American, overtook her with an armed gig, and rescued the man, along-sidé of the Frigate. The Englishman, after threatening to take the man by force says, "you are a very indiscreet young man, what would you have done if I had been in the boat?" "I would have taken the man, or lost my life." "What, Sir, would you attempt to stop me, were I now to undertake to impress men from that Brig?" "To convince you I would, you have only to make the attempt." Soon after, seeing the Englishman bearing down for the Brig, Macdonough manned, and got into his boat, in readiness for pursuit. The Englishman, after sailing around the Brig, returned again to his Frigate.

Syracuse, once the seat of all those virtues which adorn the human mind and render men good and great, is now unhappily one of the most vicious and depraved on earth; robberies and assassinations are considered as mere pastime. While at this place, Macdonough was detained on shore one night, till the ship's boat had returned to the Fleet. He then hired a boat, but finding three men, instead of two, (the usual complement,) going in it, he suspected them of some evil design and refused to go, whereupon they drew their poniards and attacked him. By spirited exertions he succeeded in wounding two, while the other took to his heels. Macdonough pursued him to the roof of the Barracks, from whence he threw himself, with the loss of his life.

No incident of consequence occurred in the life of Macdonough between the Tripolitan war, and that which commenced with Great Britain in 1812. He was then appointed to the command of a small Naval force on Lake Champlain, for the purpose protecting our frontiers.

This was considered an important point of defence, as there was reason to suppose that if the enemy had been successful in the affair at Baltimore, an attack would have been undertaken upon New York, by the fleet then on our coast, and on Albany by the Northern Army.

Thus stood affairs, when Sir George Prevost, with 14,000 men, took up his march, intending to dislodge Gen. Macomb from his post, at Plattsburgh. Capt. Downie, commanding the British Squadron, was ordered at the same time to attack the American force, which was believed to be of consequence in their plan of operations.

Macdonough was apprised of their intentions, and decided to receive them at anchor. On the 11th of Sept. 1814, the enemy anchored in line, 300 yards from the American. The action commenced at nine A. M. and after a hard fought battle, the enemy's ship Brig, and both sloops struck:—Three Gallies were sunk, and the remaining ten made off in a shattered condition. The loss of the Americans was 52 killed, and 58 wounded: that of the British 84 killed, and 110 wounded.

Immediately after the action commenced, a game cock on board, flew up the fore-hatchway, lighted on the bell, and crowed with all his might, until the bell was struck by a shot and knocked in pieces. He then flew into the rigging, and continued crowing until the action ceased. Many of the seamen considered it as a prelude to victory.

A precipitate retreat was made by the British army leaving our troops in quiet possession of the country which they had vainly essayed to conquer. The two

contending armies and thousands of spectators, were in full view of the engagement, awaiting with breathless anxiety, the issue of the battle. The occasion was pregnant with importance. It was to decide, whether the inhabitants should be driven from their houses in beggary, or remain in peaceable possession of their fire-sides. The result was all that could be desired or expected.

Prevost made a precipitate retreat—The American Eagle rode triumphant, and the country was restored to tranquility.

In consequence of this achievement, the thanks of Congress with appropriate medals, were presented to Com. Macdonough, with medals and swords to the under officers, and three months' extra pay to the petty officers, seamen and marines. The State of New York granted him 1000 acres of land, and the State of Connecticut, a brace of pistols, not only in testimony of his brilliant achievement on the Lake, but for the exalted opinion entertained of his private character.

The numerous, and flattering demonstrations of respect, which the gallant and accomplished Macdonough has received from Congress, the State Legislatures, and Corporations, are known to most readers. No one could hardly be more gratifying, than the presentation of a splendid sword from the Legislatnre of New-York, which was delivered in the city of Hartford, Conn. But the present of a sword from the officers and seamen whom he commanded in the Mediterranean, was the most unequivocal evidence of respect that can be conceived. It speaks volumes of eulogy. The expense of it was $1300, but its *pecuniary value* is forgotten, when it is looked upon as a token of respect.

The arrest of Com. Dacdonough by Com. Stewart, produced great excitement. But the correctness of the procedure was acknowledged by the ingenuous Macdonough; and he was appointed to the command of the Ohio, 74, which command he now sustains.

LIFE OF DECATUR.

The grandfather of Com. Stephen Decatur was originally from Rochelle in France, and married a lady of Newport, R. I. His father, Stephen Decatur, was born in Newport, but removed from thence to Philadelphia, where he married an Irish lady by the name of Pine. He was bred to sea in the merchant service, and was afterwards appointed to the command of the Delaware sloop of war; then of the frigate Philadelphia, where he remained until peace took place with France, when he resigned his commission, retired to his residence near Philadelphia, where he died in 1808.

His son Stephen, the subject of this sketch, was born on the Eastern shore of Maryland, Jan. 5th, 1779, whilst the British had possession of Philadelphia. After the city was evacuated, they returned to their former residence, where Decatur received his early education.

In March, 1798, he entered the navy as a midshipman, joined the frigate United States, under Com. Barry, where he remained until promoted to a lieutenancy.

He then entered the brig Norfolk as first lieutenant, performed a cruise to the Spanish Maine, and on his return to port, resumed his station on board the United States, she having undergone repairs, where he continued until peace was concluded with France.

He then sailed in Com. Dale's squadron up the Mediterranean, as first lieutenant of the Essex. Returning with that squadron, he was ordered to the New York, in the second Mediterranean expedition, in the squadron commanded by Com. Morris. Returning to the United States, he again sailed in command of the Argus, joined Com. Preble's squadron in the Mediterranean, and agreeably to orders, resigned command to lieutenant Hull, and took the schooner Enterprize. He then proceeded to Syracuse, the rendezvous of the squadron, and there learnt that the

frigate Philadelphia had run aground on the Barbary coast, and was in the possession of the Tripolitans.

On Com. Preble's arrival a few days after, Decatur suggested to him a plan for recapturing or destroying the frigate. The enterprize was fraught with peril, and of such a desperate and daring nature that the commodore's consent was obtained with the greatest reluctance.

Decatur selected for the expedition the ketch Intrepid, which he had captured but a short time previous from the enemy, manning her with seventy volunteers, and sailed Feb. 3d, 1804. The brig Syren, Lieut. Stewart, accompanied him to aid in the enterprize, should it be found necessary.

After fifteen days tempestuous weather, he arrived at the mouth of the harbour at about sunset. It had been agreed that the ketch, with the Syren's boats, should enter the harbour at about 10 o'clock that night; but as the Syren had been driven several miles from her course by change of wind, Decatur apprehended it might be too late for the attack that night should he wait for the boats: he therefore determined to enter the harbour alone; which he did at about 8 o'clock. The boldness of the undertaking may be conceived of from the following description.

The frigate lay directly under the Bashaw's castle, and within half gun shot of his principal batteries. Two of their cruisers were stationed on the starboard quarter, their gun boats on the larboard bow, and all the guns of the frigate mounted and loaded.

They had but three miles to sail from the entrance of the harbour, but from the lightness of wind did not get within hail until 11 o'clock. They were then hailed and ordered to anchor, or they would be fired upon. A Maltese pilot on board was ordered to answer that they had lost their anchors, and could not. When within 50 yards of the frigate, the wind subsided entirely, and Decatur ordered his boat to make fast to the frigate's fore chains. This being done, without

any suspicion on the part of the enemy, the ketch was warped alongside, and Decatur, with midshipman Morris, (now captain,) mounted her deck. It was nearly two minutes before any of the ketch's crew appeared on deck to their assistance, the Turks standing astonished and aghast, without resistance. So soon as a sufficient number gained the deck to form a front, they commenced the assault, killing twenty on the spot, others jumped overboard, and the remainder were driven into the hold.

The enemy soon began firing from the batteries, and from the castle and two corsairs; and perceiving a number of launches rowing about the harbour, Decatur ordered the ship to be set on fire in different places, and so effectually and with such promptness was the order executed, that it was with great difficulty the ketch could be saved. Providentially at this critical moment, a breeze took them, blowing directly out of the harbour, carrying them from the enemy's reach in a few minutes, with the loss of but one killed and four wounded.

For this achievement, Decatur was promoted to the rank of post captain.

In the ensuing spring, Com. Preble made an attack upon Tripoli, with his squadron, consisting of the Constitution, Syren, Nautilus, Vixen, six gun boats, and two bombards. The attack commenced at 9 o'clock, August 3d. The gun boats advanced in a line ahead, led on by Capt. Decatur, covered by the frigate Constitution, and the brigs and schooners. The enemy's gun boats were moored within musket shot of the batteries. Their sails had been taken from them, and they were ordered to sink rather than alter their position. They were likewise covered by a brig of 16 and a schooner of 10 guns. The enemy's boats, as also the American, had 40 men each. Decatur drew up with all possible dispatch, boarded a gun boat, and in 10 minutes cleared the deck; three Americans only were wounded. Coming out with his prize, the boat-

which his brother, Lieut. James Decatur commanded, came under his stern, and informed that he had been treacherously shot by the commander of the boat he had taken. He immediately tacked, came alongside of the Turkish boat, and with but eleven men, instantly boarded her. For 20 minutes the fate of the contest was doubtful—seven of the Americans were wounded. Decatur singled out the commander, and broke his sword by the hilt in attempting to cut off his espontoon. The Turk at this moment wounded him in the arm and head. They closed; Decatur fell uppermost—the Turk drew his dagger—Decatur seized his arm, drew a pistol from his pocket and shot him. Decatur could then with difficulty extricate himself from the dead and wounded which had fallen on him during the struggle. A noble hearted tar seeing a deadly blow aimed at Decatur's head, and having lost the use of his arms by wounds, rushed between, and received the blow on his own head. His scull was fractured, but happily he survived to receive a pension from government. Decatur succeeded in reaching the squadron with both prizes. At the conclusion of peace, he came home in the Congress—afterwards was superintendant of gun boats, and at the affair of the Chesapeake, superceded Com. Barron, and was put in command of the southern squadron. When the United States was again put in commission, he was removed to that frigate.

In the late war with Great Britain, and on the 25th Oct. 1812, he fell in with and captured the British frigate Macedonian, Capt. J. S. Carden, mounting 49 guns—36 killed, and 68 wounded. The United States had 4 killed, and 7 wounded. The Macedonian was a prime ship, manned and equipped in the best manner, and but two years old.

On the unhappy controversy between Com. Decatur and Com. Barron, which terminated in the death of the former, we forbear to comment. Our readers are referred to the correspondence which passed be-

tween them, and from which they will gather a full view of the subject. Suffice it to say, that in his death, our navy is deprived of one of its bravest and most efficient officers, and society of an accomplished and intelligent gentleman.

LIFE OF PIKE.

Zebulon Montgomery Pike, was born at Lamberton in the state of New-Jersey, January 5th 1779. His father was a respectable officer in the army of the United States. His family had for several generations resided in New Jersey, and were descended from a Captain John Pike, whose name is preserved by tradition as having been a gallant and distinguished soldier in the early Indian wars of the colony. He entered the army while yet a boy, and served for some time as a cadet in his father's company, which was then stationed on the western frontiers of the United States. At an early age he obtained the commission of ensign, and some time after that of Lieutenant in the 1st regiment of infantry. He was thus almost from his cradle, trained to the habits of a military life. And by constant activity and exposure he invigorated his constitution, and prepared himself for deeds of hardihood and adventure. At the same time he endeavored to supply the deficiency of his early education by most ardent, though probably often desultory and ill regulated application to every branch of useful knowledge. Nor were these studies directed solely to the improvement of the mind; he endeavored to make them subservient to a much higher end. From his youth he seduously cultivated in himself a generous spirit of chivalry; not that

punctilious and barren honour which cheaply satisfies itself with the reputation of personal courage and freedom from disreputable vice, but the chivalry of the ancient school of European honour—that habit of manly and virtuous sentiment, that spirit of patriotism and self-devotion, which, while it roots out from the heart every other weakness of nature, spares and cherishes "that last infirmity of noble minds," the love of glory, and in every great emergency in which man may be called upon to act, sends him forth into the service of his country or his kind, at once obeying the commands of duty, and elevated and animated by the warm impulse of enthusiastic feeling.

In March 1801, he married Miss Clarissa Brown, of Cincinnati, in the state of Kentucky. By this marriage he had several children, only one of whom, a daughter, survives him.

In 1805, a new career of honourable distinction was opened to this active and aspiring youth. Soon after the purchase of Louisiana, the government of the United States determined upon taking measures to explore their new territory, and that immense tract of wilderness, included within its limits. Besides ascertaining its geographical boundaries, it was wished to acquire some knowledge of its soil and natural productions, of the course of its rivers, and their fitness for the purposes of navigation and other uses of civilized life, and also to gain particular information of the numbers, character, and power of the tribes of Indians who inhabited this territory, and their several dispositions towards the United States. With these views, while Captains Lewis and Clarke were sent to explore the unknown sources of the Missouri, Pike was dispatched on a similar expedition for the purpose of tracing the Mississippi to its head.

On the 9th of August, 1805, Pike accordingly embarked at St Louis, and proceeded up the Mississippi, with twenty men, in a stout boat, provisioned for four months, but they were soon obliged to leave their

boat and proceed on their journey by land, or in canoes, which they built after leaving their boat, and carried with them on their march. For eight months and twenty days this adventurous soldier and his faithful band were almost continually exposed to hardship and peril, depending for provisions upon the precarious fortunes of the chase, enduring the most piercing cold, and cheerfully submitting to the most constant and harassing toils. They where sometimes for days together without food, and they freequantly slept without cover on the bare earth, or the snow, during the bitterest inclemency of a northern winter. Pike had no intelligent companion upon whom he could rely for advice or aid, and he literally performed the duties of astronomer, surveyor, commanding officer, clerk, spy, guide, and hunter, frequently preceding the party for many miles, in order to reconnoitre, or rambling for whole days in search of deer or other game for provision, and then returning to his men in the evening, hungry and fatigued, to sit down in the open air, to copy by the light of the fire the notes of his journey, and to plot out the courses of the next day.

In addition to the other objects of Pike's mission, as specifically detailed in his instructions, he conceived that his duty as a soldier required of him an investigation of the views and conduct of the British traders within the limits of our jurisdiction, and an enquiry into the exact limits of the territories of the United States and Great Britain. This duty he performed, says the author of a former sketch of his biography, with the boldness of a soldier, and the politeness of a gentlemen; he might have justly added, with the disinterestedness of a man of honour, and the ability and discretion of an enlightened politician. He found that the north west company, by extending their establishments and commerce far within the bounds of the United States, and even into the very centre of Louisiana, were thus enabled to introduce their goods without duty or licence into our territo-

ries, to the very great injury of the revenue, as well as to the complete exclusion of our own countrymen from all competion in this trade. He perceived, besides, that these establishments were made subservient to the purposes of obtaining an influence over the savages dangerous to the peace, and injurious to the honour and character of our government; and he thought it evident, that in case of a rupture between the two powers, all these posts would be used as rallying points for the enemy, and as places of deposite for arms to be distributed to the Indians, to the infinite annoyance, if not total ruin, of all the adjoining territories.

By means of reprimands and threats to the inferior traders, and a frank and spirited remonstrance to the director of the Fond du Lac department, he succeeded in procuring a stipulation, that in future no attempts should be made to influence any Indian on political affairs, or any subjects foreign to trade, and that measures should be immediately taken to prevent the display of the British flag, or any other mark of power, within our dominion; together with a promise that such representations should be immediately made to the company, and such an arrangement effected with regard to duties, as would hereafter set that question at rest.

Within two months after his return from this expedition, Pike was selected by General Wilkinson for a second perilous journey of hardship and adventure. The principal purpose of this expedition was, like that of the former, to explore the interior of Louisiana. He was directed to embark at St. Louis with the Osage captives, (about forty in number,) who had been rescued from their enemies, the Potowatomies, by the interference of our government, and to transport them to the principal village of their nation; and he was instructed to take this opportunity to bring about interviews between the different savage nations, and to endeavour to assuage animosities, and establish a permanent peace among them. He was, after accomplishing

these objects, to continue his route into the interior, and to explore the Mississippi and its tributary streams, especially the Arkansaw and the Red River, and thus to acquire such geographical information as might enable government to enter into definitive arrangements for a boundary line between our newly acquired territory and North Mexico.

In the course of this second journey, our adventurous soldier, after leaving the Osage village, encountered hardships, in comparison of which the severities of his former journey seemed to him ease and luxury.

Winter overtook the party unprovided with any clothing fit to protect them from cold and storms. Their horses died, and for weeks they were obliged to explore their way on foot through the wilderness, carrying packs of sixty or seventy pounds weight, beside their arms, exposed to the bitterest severity of the cold, relying solely on the produce of the chase for subsistence, and often for two or three days altogether without food. This part of his journal contains a narrative of a series of sufferings sufficient to make the "superfluous and lust-dieted" son of luxury shudder at the bare recital. Several of the men had their feet frozen, and all except Pike, and one other, were in some degree injured by the intensity of the cold. He thus relates the history of one of these dreary days:

19th January, Monday.—We again took the field, and after crawling about one mile in the snow, got near enough to shoot eight times at a gang of buffaloes, and could plainly perceive two or three of them to be badly wounded, but by accident they took the wind of us, and, to our great mortification, all were able to run off. By this time I had become extremely weak and faint, it being the fourth day since we had received sustenance, all of which we were marching hard, and the last night had scarcely closed our eyes to sleep. We were inclining our course to a point of woods; determined to remain absent and die by our-

selves, rather than return to our camp and behold the misery of our poor lads, when we discovered a gang of buffaloes coming along at some distance. With great exertions I made out to run and place myself behind some cedars, and by the greatest good luck the first shot stopped one, which we killed in three more shots, and by the dusk had cut each of us a heavy load, with which we determined immediately to proceed to the camp, in order to relieve the anxiety of our men and carry the poor fellows some food. We arrived there about twelve o'clock, and when I threw my load down, it was with difficulty I prevented myself from falling; I was attacked with a giddiness of the head, which lasted for some minutes. On the countenances of the men was not a frown, nor a desponding eye, but all seemed happy to hail their officer and companions, yet not a mouthful had they eat for four days.

In the course of this long, toilsome, and perilous march, Pike displayed a degree of personal heroism and hardihood, united with a prudence and sagacity which, had they been exerted on some wide theatre of action, would have done honour to the most renowned general.

"4th January, Saturday.—We sallied out in the morning, and shortly after perceived our little band, marching through the snow, (about two and a half feet deep,) silent and with down cast countenances. We joined them, and learnt that they, finding the snow to fall so thickly that it was impossible to proceed, had encamped about one o'clock the preceding day. As I found all the buffaloes had quitted the plains, I determined to attempt the traverse of the mountains, in which we persevered until the snow became so deep it was impossible to proceed, when I again turned my face to the plain, and for the first time in the voyage found myself discouraged, and for the first time heard a man express himself in a seditious manner; he exclaimed, "that it was more than

human nature could bear, to march three days without sustenance, through snows three feet deep and carry burdens only fit for horses," &c.

"As I knew very well the fidelity and attachment of the majority of the men, and even of this poor fellow, and that it was in my power to chastise him when I thought proper, I passed it by for the moment, determined to notice it at a more auspicious time. We dragged our weary and emaciated limbs along until about 10 o'clock. The doctor and myself who were in advance, discovered some buffaloes on the plain, when we left our loads, and order written on the snow, to proceed to the nearest woods to encamp. We went in pursuit of the buffaloes which were on the move.

"The doctor, who was then less reduced than myself, ran and got behind a hill, and shot one down, which stopped the remainder. We crawled up to the dead one, and shot from him as many as twelve or fourteen times among the gang, when they removed out of sight. We then proceeded to cut up the one we had shot, and after procuring each a load of the meat, we marched for the camp, the smoke of which was in view. We arrived at the camp to the great joy of our brave lads, who immediately feasted sumptuously. After our repast, I sent for the lad who had presumed to speak discontentedly in the course of the day, and addressed him to the following effect; "Brown, you this day presumed to make use of language which was seditious and mutinous; I then passed it over, pitying your situation, and attributing it to your distress, rather than to your own inclination to sow discontent among the party. Had I reserved provisions for ourselves, whilst you were starving; had we been marching along light and at our ease, whilst you were weighed down with your burden, then you would have had some pretext for your observations; but when we were equally hungry, weary, emaciated, and charged with burden, which I believe

my natural strength is less able to bear than any man's in the party; when we were always foremost in breaking the road, reconnoitering, and the fatigues of the chase, it was the height of ingratitude in you, to let an expression escape which was indicative of discontent, your ready compliance and firm perseverance I had reason to expect, as the leader of men, and my companions in miseries and dangers. But your duty as a soldier demanded your obedience to your officer, and a prohibition of such language, which for this time I will pardon, but assure you, should it ever be repeated, I will revenge your ingratitude and punish your disobedience by instant *death*. I take this opportunity, likewise, to assure you, soldiers, of my thanks for the obedience, perseverance, and ready contempt of every danger, which you have generally evinced; I assure you, nothing shall be wanting on my part to procure you the rewards of our government, and gratitude of your countrymen."

"They all appeared very much affected, and retired with assurances of perseverance in duty."

Amidst these distresses, after a three month's winter's march, they explored their way to what they supposed to be the Red River. Here they were met by a party of Spanish cavalry, by whom Pike was informed, to his great astonishment, that they, were not on the Red River, but on the Rio del Norte, and in the Spanish territory. All opposition to this force would have been idle, and he reluctantly submitted to accompany the Spaniards to Santa Fe, to appear before the governor. Though, to his great mortification, his expedition was thus broken off, all hardship was now at an end. He was treated on the road with great respect and hospitality, though watched and guarded with much jealousy; but he still insisted on wearing his sword, and that his men retain their arms. Indeed, it was his resolution, had he or any of his people been ill used, to surprise the guard, carry off their horses, and make the best of their way to Apaches.

When he arrived at Santa Fe, his whole dress was a blanket coat, blue trowsers, mockasons, and a scarlet cloth cap lined with a fox skin; his men were in leather coats with leggins, &c., and not a hat in the whole party. But he appeared before the governor with his usual spirit, and insisted on being treated with the respect due to an American officer. From Santa Fe he was sent to the capital of the province of Biscay, to be examined by the commandant general, where he was well received and entertained for some time, after which he was sent on his way home, under the escort of a strong party of horse. He arrived with his little band at Natchitoches, on the 1st of July, 1807.

The most vexatious circumstance attending this unexpected sequel to his expedition, was the seizure of all his papers, except his private journal, by the Spanish government. He had been fitted out with a complete set of mathematical and astronomical instruments, and had made frequent and accurate observations. He had thus ascertained the geographical situation of the most important points, with much precision, and had collected materials for an accurate map of a great part of the country he traversed. The seizure of these papers is a real loss to the cause of science. It is, however, in perfect conformity to that narrow and purblind policy which the old Spanish government uniformly manifested in the administration of its colonies.

Pike, upon his return, received the thanks of the government; a committee of the house of representatives expressed their high sence of his "zeal, perseverance, and intelligence," and the administration, much to its honour, bestowed upon him a more solid testimony of approbation, by a rapid promotion in the army. He was immediately appointed captain, shortly after a major, and upon the further enlargement of the army in 1810, a colonel of infantry.

Immediately after the declaration of war, Pike was

stationed with his regiment upon the northern frontier, and upon the commencement of the campaign of 1813, was appointed a brigadier general.

There was a tincture of enthusiasm in Pike's character which communicated itself to his whole conduct: in whatsoever pursuit he engaged, he entered upon it with his whole soul. But the profession of arms had been always his favourite study—his 'life's employment, and his leasure's charms.' Having served through every gradation of rank, almost from a private up to a general, and very often employed in seperate and independent commands, he was intimately acquainted with all the minutiæ of discipline. The veteran of a peace establishment is too apt, from the want of greater objects, to narrow his mind down to the little details of a military life, until, at length, every trifle swells up into ideal importance, and the cut of a coat or the tying of a neckcloth, seems big with the fate of nations. Pike was extremely attentive to all the particulars, even to the most minute points of discipline and dress, yet he gave them their due importance, and no more.—He did not degrade the soldier into a mere living machine, and whilst he kept up the strictest discipline, he laboured to make his men feel that this severity arose not from caprice or ill temper, but from principle, and that it had for its sole object their own glory, their ease, their health, and safety. Careless of popularity, and negligence of the arts by which good will is often conciliated, where there is no real esteem, by the unassuming simplicity and frankness of his manners, and the undeviating honour of his conduct, he bound to himself the hearts of all around him with the strong ties of respect and affection.

Thus self formed, and thus situated, the eyes of the army were anxiously cast toward him as the chosen champion who was to redeem their reputation from that disgrace with which it had been stained by a long series of disasters. The day for which his

heart had long panted at length arrived—a bright day of glory for the hero, of gloom and sorrow to his country. He was selected for the command of the land forces in an expedition againt York, the capital of Upper Canada, and on the 25th of April, sailed from Sackett's Harbour in the squadron commanded by Commodore Chauncey.

On the 27th of April, Gen. Pike arrived at York, with about seventeen hundred chosen men, and immediately prepared to land. The spot which was selected for landing, was the site of an old French fort called Torento, of which scarcely any vestiges now remain. The plan of attack was formed by General Pike himself, and clearly and minutely detailed in his general orders, which were directed to be read at the head of every corps; every field officer was also directed to carry a copy of them in order that he might at any moment refer to them, and give explanations to his subordinates. Every thing was arranged, and every probable exigency provided for, with admirable method and precision.

There is one paragraph of these orders which breathes so much of his own spirit, that I cannot forbear extracting it. It is deeply stamped with that unity of character which was visible throughout all his actions, and which is, in truth, one of the strongest marks of a powerful and original mind.

"No man will load until ordered, except the light troops in front, until within a short distance of the enemy, and then charge bayonets; thus letting the enemy see that we can meet them with their own weapons. Any man firing or quitting his post without orders must be put to instant death, as an example may be necessary. Platoon officers will pay the greatest attention to the coolness and aim of their men in the fire; their regularity and dressing in the charge. The field officer will watch over the conduct of the whole. Courage and bravery in the field, do not more distinguish the soldier than humanity after victory; and

whatever examples the savage allies of our enemies may have given us, the general confidently hopes that the blood of an unresisting or yielding enemy will never stain the weapons of the soldiers of his column. Property must be held sacred; and any soldier who shall so far neglect the honour of his profession as to be guilty of plundering the inhabitants shall, if convicted be punished with death. But the commanding general assures the troops, that should they capture a large quantity of public stores, he will use his best endeavours to procure them a reward from his government."

As soon as the debarkation commenced, a body of British grenadiers was paraded on the shore, and the Glengary Fencibles which had been disciplined with great care, and has repeatedly proved itself fully equal to any regular force, appeared at another point. Large bodies of Indians were also seen in different directions, while others filled the woods which skirted the shore. General Sheaffe commanded in person.

Forsythe's riflemen were the first to land, which they effected under a heavy fire of musketry and rifles from the Indians and British. As soon as the fire from the shore commenced, Major Forsythe had ordered his men to rest a few moments upon their oars, and return the fire. At this moment Pike was standing upon the deck of his ship. He saw the pause of his first division, and, impatient at the delay, exclaimed, "I can stay here no longer, come jump into the boat;" and, springing into it, followed by his staff, was immediately rowed into the thickest of the fire.

The infantry had followed the riflemen, and formed in platoons as soon as they reached the shore.—Gen. Pike took the command of the first platoon which he reached, and ordered to prepare for a charge. They mounted the bank, and the enemy, after a short conflict, broke at once, and fled in disorder towards the works. At that moment the sound of Forsythe's bu-

gle was heard, announcing his success at another point. Its effect upon the Indians was almost electrical; they gave a horrible yell and fled in every direction.

The whole force, being now landed was again formed and led on by General Pike in person, to attack the enemy's works. They advanced through the woods, and after carrying one battery by assault, in the most gallant manner, moved on in columns towarks the main work. The fire of the enemy was soon silenced by our artillery, and a flag of surrender was expected, when a terrible explosion suddenly took place from the British magazine, which had been previously prepared for this purpose. Pike, after aiding in removing a wounded man with his own hands, had sat down on the stump of a tree with a British serjeant, who had been taken, and was employed with Captain Nicholson and one of his aids, in examining the prisoner. The explosion was tremendous; an immense quantity of large stones were thrown in every direction with incredible force, and scattered destruction and confusion around among our troops. The general his aid, Captain Nicholson, and the prisoner fell together, all except the aid, mortally wounded. General Pike had been struck on the breast by a heavy stone. Shortly after he received the blow, he said to his wounded aid, "I am mortally wounded—write to my friend D—— and tell him what you know of the battle, and to comfort my ——." In the same broken manner, he afterwards added several other requests relating to his private affairs.

The troops were instantly formed again; as a body of them passed by their wounded general, he said "Push on, brave fellows, and avenge your general." While the surgeons were carrying him out of the field, a tumultuous huzza was heard from our troops; Pike turned his head with an anxious look of enquiry; he was told by a sergeant, "The British union jack is coming down general—the stars are going up." He heaved a heavy sigh, and smiled. He was then car-

ried on board the commodore's ship, where he lived for a few hours. Just before he breathed his last the British standard was brought to him; he made a sign to have it placed under his head, and expired without a groan.

The death of General Pike, at such a period, was a great public misfortune; his countrymen did not know half the extent of their loss.

Gallant spirit! It was thine to wash out with thy life blood the foul remembrance of our country's shame—of those disgraces which had blasted her honour, and tarnished the ancient glories of her arms. It was thine in life, and in death, to give to your companions in arms a great example of chivalrous honour and heroic courage;—it was thine to lead them to the threshold of the temple of fame, and bid them enter on a long career of glory.

Gallant spirit! thy country will not forget thee; thou shalt have a noble memory. When a greatful nation confers upon the heroes of Niagara and Erie the laurels they have so nobly earned, she will bid them remember that those laurels were first gathered on the shores of York, and were watered by the blood of a heroe; and hereafter when our children and childrens children shall read the story of patriots and heroes who have gallantly fallen in the arms of victory; when their eyes glisten and their young hearts throb wildly at the kindling theme, they will close the volume which tells of Epaminondas, of Sydney, or of Wolfe, and proudly exclaim, "And we too, had our Montgomery and our Pike."

LIFE OF HARRISON.

William Henry Harrison, was born in Virginia, at a place called Beckley, on the James river, twenty miles below Richmond, and his descent is from one of the oldest and most respectable families of that state. He was destined by his father to the study and practice of physic. Accordingly, after receiving a suitable school education, he commenced the study with Doctor Lieper of Richmond, and was on his way to Philadelphia, with a view to finish his studies, when he heard of his father's death.—It was a profession not congenial with his views, and he therefore at that juncture, abandoned it, and took a commission in the United States' army.

After spending a few weeks in the recruiting service at Philadelphia he proceeded to the North-western territory, and joined his regiment at Fort Washington, a few days after St. Clairs defeat. He was then but nineteen years of age; a stripling, to appearance wretchedly qualified to endure the fatigues of a campaign in the wilderness.

His first enterprise was with a detachment of twenty men, ordered to escort some pack horses to Fort Hamilton. It was attended with great dangers and privations, but was executed so satisfactorily as to draw from Gen. St. Clair the warmest public thanks.

Soon after, Gen. St. Clair returned to Philadelphia, and Wilkinson took command in his place. The year following, (1792) was occupied in raising and disciplining a new army, which descended the Ohio and encamped near Cincinnatti, in June 1793, under command of General Wayne. Here Harrison joined them and was appointed second aid-de-camp to the commander in chief, and from that place they marched to Greenville and took up winter quarters. In June 1794, they took up a line of march against the Indians, and on the 20th of August came into an engagement with them at the foot of the Miami Rapids, and soon routed them. Here Harrison acted a con-

spicuous part, and acquitted himself with honour This battle had the desired effect; the Indians sued for peace; and a treaty was effected the year following.

In 1795 he was commissioned captain, and in the autumn of the same year, married a daughter of John Cheeves Symmes, Esq. a judge of the north-western territory. Gen. Wayne having retired to the Atlantic States, left him in command of Fort Washington, where he continued until 1797, and as the country was at peace, retired from the army, and was soon afterwards appointed Secretary of the north-western territory.

In the year 1799, he was sent Delegate to Congress from that territory, and at the formation of the Indiana territory was appointed first Governor of it, to the capital of which, (Vincennes,) he removed with his family, in 1801.

The civil administration of Gen. Harrison, although not marked with such brilliant circumstances as his military operations, was notwithstanding, managed with equal judgment.

At the celebrated battle of Tippacanoe, in 1811, Gen. Harrison, as Governor, was at the head of the troops and directed the action, which terminated in completely routing the Indians, and of destroying a treacherous and formidable conspiracy against the territory.

The war with Great Britain gave him another opportunity of displaying his military character. At the capture of General Hull and his army, and the surrender of the Michigan territory, in 1812, Gen. Harrison, was called to the command of the north-western army, and ordered to collect what forces he could, and if possible advance to Detroit and reduce Malden during that fall. Accordingly he hastened to the frontier, & after surmounting the greatest difficulties, arrived at the foot of the Miami rapids.—A premature movement had, however, been made by Gen. Winchester, and which ended in the defeat and cap-

ture of himself and army. In consequence, all hopes of effecting the objects of the campaign, during that season, were at an end. He therefore took up winter quarters on the Miami, at Fort Meigs, where he was attacked in the spring by the British army, under Gen. Proctor, with a force vastly superior. The British general opened his batteries and continued firing from the 1st to the 5th of August, and finding it impossible to carry on the siege to effect, made a precipitate retreat, on the 9th. Gen. Harrison's army being augmented to about 3,500, he prepared to follow the enemy, and passing Malden and Detroit, which they had abandoned, crossed the Thames at Arnold's Mills, and soon after came into engagement. His backwoods horsemen were drawn up, and charged the enemy's line at full speed. This had the desired effect: their ranks were immediately broken, and the army surrendered to Gen. Harrison, Gen. Proctor having made his escape with a few dragoons and mounted Indians.

The defence of Fort Meigs, and the subsequent capture of the British army, may be fairly considered the most brilliant and extraordinary events of the late war.

These were his last military achievements. A treaty of peace was concluded with Great Britain, and his services being no longer wanted, he retired, with "blushing honours thick upon him," to the bosom of his friends, and to the enjoyment of domestic happiness.

LIFE OF JACKSON.

Andrew Jackson, is of Irish parentage. His father and mother emigrated to South Carolina, in the year 1765, with two sons, both young, and purchased a tract of land, on which they settled, in what was then called the Waxaw settlement, about forty-five miles above Camden. Here was born, on the 15th March, in the year 1767, Andrew, the subject of the present sketch. His father died soon after, leaving the three children to be provided for by the mother, a woman who would seem to have possessed excellent feelings and considerable strength of mind. The scantiness of their patrimony allowed only one of them to be liberally enducated; and this was Andrew, whom she destined for the sacred ministry. He was sent to a flourishing academy in the settlement, where he remained, occupied with the dead languages, until the revolutionary war brought an enemy into his neighborhood, whose approach left no alternative but the choice of the British or American banners. The intrepid and ardent boy, encouraged by his patriotic mother, hastened at the age of fourteen, in company with one of his brothers, to the American camp, and enlisted in the service of his country. The eldest of the three had already lost his life in the same service, at the battle of Stono. The survivors Andrew and Robert, having been suffered to attend the county drill and general musters, were not unacquainted with the manuel exercise and field evolutions.

After retiring into North Carolina, before the British army, with their corps, they returned to Waxaw settlement, and found themselves suddenly engaged with a superior British force, who surprised a gallant band of forty patriots, to which they belonged, routed it and took eleven prisoners. Andrew Jackson and his brother escaped from the field, after fighting bravely; but, having entered a house, next day, in order to procure food, they fell into the hands of a corps of

British dragoons, and a party of tories, that were marauding together. Andrew, when under guard, was ordered by a British officer, in a haughty manner, to clean his boots; the youth peremptorily refused to do so, claiming, with firmness, the treatment due to a prisoner of war. The officer aimed a blow at his head with a sabre, which would have proved fatal, had he not parried it with his left hand, on which he received a severe wound. His brother, at the same time, and for a similar offence, received a gash on the head, which afterwards occasioned his death. Thus, did his only relatives, two of this estimable family, perish in the spring of life, martyrs to their patriotic and courageous spirit. Andrew and his companion were consigned to jail, in separate apartments, and treated with the utmost harshness; until, through the exertions of their fond mother, they were exchanged, a few days after the battle. This worthy woman, worn down by grief, and the fatigues she had undergone in seeking clothes and other comforts for all the prisoners who had been taken from her neighbourhood, expired in the course of the following month, in the vicinity of Charleston. At the period of this melancholy loss, Andrew was languishing under sickness, the consequence of his sufferings in prison, and his exposure to inclement weather on his return home. The small pox supervened and nearly terminated his sorrows and his life. But a constitution originally good, and vigorous tone of mind, enabled him to survive this complication of ills. He recovered, and entered upon the enjoyment of his patrimony, which, though it might have been sufficient for the completion of his education, with judicious management, soon dwindled to very little in hands unused to such a charge. He returned to his classical studies; as a means of his future subsistence, with increased industry; and, at the age of eighteen, in the winter of 1784, repaired to Salisbury, in North Carolina, to a lawyer's office, in which he prepared himself for the bar. In the winter of 1786, he obtained a li-

cense to practice, but finding this theatre unfavorable for advancement, emigrated to Nashville in 1788, and there fixed his residence. Success attended his industry and talents; he acquired a lucrative business in the courts, and ere long was appointed attorney-general for the district; in which capacity he continued to act for several years.

Tennessee being at that time exposed, even in the heart of the settlements, to the incursions of the Indians, he became like all around him, a *soldier*, and one whose activity and resolution soon made him as conspicuous as he was useful. The progress which he made in public estimation, by his abilities and services, is marked by his election, in 1796, to the Convention assembled to frame a constitution for the state. In this body he acquired an additional distinction, which placed him, the same year, in Congress, in the House of Representatives, and the following year in the Senate of the United States. He acted invariably with the republican party in the National Legislature, but grew tired of an unavailing struggle in a small minority, and of a scence of discussion and intrigue for which he did not deem himself as well fitted as the successor, for whose sake, no less than for his own gratification, he resigned his post in 1799. We have heard some gentlemen who were members of Congress during the time he remained in it, remark that he was generally esteemed for the soundness of his understanding, and the moderation of his demeanour. Though steadfast and earnest as a party politician, he manifested neither violence nor illiberality. While a senator, he was chosen by the field officers of the Tennessee militia, without consultation with him, major-general of their division, and so remained until 1814, when he took the same rank in the service of the U. States. On his resignation as senator, he was appointed one of the judges of the supreme court of Tennessee. He accepted this appointment with reluctance, and withdrew from the bench as soon as posis-

ble, with the determination to spend the rest of his life in tranquility and seclusion, on a beautiful farm belonging to him, and lying on the Cumberland river about ten miles from Nashville. In this retreat he passed several years, happy in the indulgence of his fondness for rural occupations, and in the society of an affectionate wife and a number of honest friends. His quiet felicity was, however, broken up by the occurrence of the war with Great Britain. It roused his martial and patriotic temper; and when the act of congress (of the 6th of February, and July 1812) which authorized the president to accept the services of fifty thousand volunteers, were promulgated, Jackson published an energetic address to the militia of his divison, drew two thousand five hundred of them to his standard, and tendered them without delay to the federal government. In November he received orders to descend the Mississippi, for the defence of the lower country, which was then thought to be in danger. In January, in a very inclement season, he conducted his troops as far as Natchez, where he was instructed to remain until otherwise directed. Here he employed himself indefatigably, in training and preparing them for service. But, the danger which was meant to be repelled, having ceased to exist, in the opinion of the secretary of war, he received instructions, from the latter, to dismiss, at once, from service, those under his command. The number of sick in his camp was great, and they were destitute of the means of defraying the expenses of their return home: The rest of his troops, from the same dearth of resources, must have enlisted in the regular army, under general Wilkinson. Jackson felt himself responsible for the restoration of them to their families and friends, and therefore, resolved to disobey the orders of the department of war, whose head could not be acquainted with the circumstances of the case. He retained as much of the public property in his possession, as was necessary to his purpose of marching them back.

Wilkinson remonstrated and admonished in vain. Jackson replied that he would bear the responsibility —he refused to allow Wilkinson's officers, when commissioned, to recruit from his army; seized upon the waggons required for the transportation of his sick, and set out with the whole of his force. He gave up his own horses to the infirm, and shared in all the hardships of the soldiers in a long and arduous march. It was at the time of year when the roads and swamps, to be trodden were in the worst condition. His example silenced all complaint, and endered him the more to his companions. On his arrival at Nashville he communicated to the president of the United States what he had done, and the reasons by which he had been guided. His conduct was approved of at Washington, and the expenses, which he had incurred, directed to be paid. We have mentioned this affair particularly, because it is the most remarkable among the first instances in his history, of that lofty independence in judgment and action, and that disdain of consequences in the discharge of a paramount duty, which have since signalized his career both military and civil.

We have now reached what may be called the second principal era of his life.

The British and the celebrated *Tecumseh* had stirred up the Creek nation of Indians, parties of whom made irruptions into the state of Tennessee, committing the most barbarous outrages upon defenceless and insulated families. Having obtained a supply of ammunition from the Spaniards at Pensacola, a band of six or seven hundred warriors assaulted *Fort Mimms*, situated in the Tensaw settlement, in the Mississippi territory, succeeded in carrying it, and butchered nearly all its inmates; three hundred persons, including women and children. Only seventeen of the whole number escaped to spread intelligence of the dreadful catastrophe. The news produced the strongest sensation in Tennessee; and all eyes were, at once,

turned to Jackson as the leader of the force which must be sent forth to overtake and punish the miscreants. He was, at this time, confined to his chamber with a fractured arm and a wound in the breast, injuries received in a privat rencontre. It was resolved by the legislature to call into service thirty-five hundred of the militia, to be marched into the heart of the Creek nation, conformably to the advice of Jackson, who, notwithstanding the bodily ills under which he laboured, readily undertook the chief command in the expedition. He issued an eloquent and nervous address to the troops, on the day of the rendezvous, in which he told them, among other things—"We must and will be victorious—we must conquer as men who owe nothing to chance; and, who, in the midst of victory, can still be mindful of what is due to humanity." On the 7th October, 1813, he reached the encampment, although his health was far from being restored. It would require too much space to follow him in all the movements of a campaign, in which he appears as a most skilful commander, vigilant disciplinarion, and dauntless soldier. He had to contend not only with a formidable enemy, but with raw and mutinous followers and the severest personal hardships. The most fatiguing and prolonged marches over mountains & through morasses; the frequent and almost total want of food of any kind, the failure of contractors; the inefficiency or defection of higher officers, and a protracted and perilous absence from home, extenuate the occasional despondency and disobedience of the privates of his division. Under the worst circumstances, he displayed the utmost resolution and fortitude, and by his inflexible spirit and tone of perseverance, he brought the enterprise to the most satisfactory issue.

The first battle which he fought, in person, on this occasion, was that of *Talladega*, a fort of the friendly Cherokee Indians, distant about thirty miles below Fort Strother, on the north bank of the river Coosa.

The Creeks were posted within a quarter of a mile of Fort Talladega, in considerable force. At seven o'clock in the morning, Jackson's columns were displayed in order of battle. At about eight, his advance having arrived within eighty yards of the enemy, received a heavy fire, which they instantly returned, and the engagement soon became general. In fifteen minutes the Creeks were seen flying in every direction, and were pursued until they reached the mountains, at the distance of about three miles. Their numbers amounted to one thousand and eighty, of whom two hundred and ninety-nine were left dead on the ground. Their whole loss, in the engagement & retreat, as since stated by themselves, was not less than six hundred. On the side of the Americans, fifteen were killed and eighty wounded; and several of the latter soon died. The fort was full of friendly Indians, who had been besieged for several days, and would have been massacred; but for the arrival and victory of General Jackson. Want of provisions compelled him to hasten back, after collecting his dead and wounded, to Fort Strother. He particularly lamented the necessity of this step, as it gave the enemy time to recover from their consternation and recruit their strength.

At Fort Strother, no stores were found by the famished army on their return, owing to the delinquency of the contractors. Jackson distributed all his own supplies to the suffering soldiers—tripes constituted his sole diet for several days. Scarcity engendered discontent and revolt in the camp. The officers and soldiers of the militia determined to abandon the service. On the morning when they were to carry their intention into effect, General Jackson drew up the volunteer companies in front of them, with a mandate to prevent their progress—they had not courage to advance. They returned to their quarters, but, on the next day, the very volunteers who had been so employed, mutinied in their turn and designed to

move off in a body. Their surprise was not slight when, on attempting this, they found the same men whom they had intercepted the day before, occupying the very position which they had done, for a similar purpose. The militia were glad to retahate, and the result was the same. Jackson was obliged however, to withdraw with the troops from Fort Strother, towards Fort Deposit, upon the condition, that if they met supplies, which were expected, they would return and prosecute the campaign. They had not proceeded more than ten or twelve miles before they met one hundred and fifty beeves; but their faces being once turned homewards, they resisted his order to march back to the encampment. The scene which ensued is characteristic as to his firmness and decision. A whole brigade had put itself in an attitude for moving off forcibly. Jackson was still without the use of his left arm, seizing a musket and resting it with the right on the neck of his horse, he threw himself in front of the column and threatened to shoot the first man who should attempt to advance. Major Reid, his aid-de-camp, and General Coffee placed themselves by his side. For several minutes the column preserved a menacing attitude, yet hesitated to proceed. In the mean time, those who remained faithful to their duty, amounting to about two companies, were collected, and formed at a short distance in advance of the troops, with positive directions to imitate the example of the general, if the mutineers persisted. These, when no individual appeared bold enough to press onward, at length wavered, and then soon turned quietly round and agreed to submit. It was a critical instant; but for the firmness of Jackson, the campaign would have been broken up, and there was no likelihood of its being resumed.

A third considerable mutiny which happened not long after, was suppressed by personal efforts of the same kind. The appeals which he made to his troops at these periods, are elevated and glowing composi-

tions. The governor of Tennessee transmitted to him advice to desist from the further prosecution of the campaign, on account of his manifold embarrassments and inadequate means. Jackson replied to him, repelling his suggestion, and urging him to lend assistance to sustain the honor of Tennessee, and protect the frontiers from thousands of exasperated savages. This wise and urgent remonstrance finally procured for him reinforcements, or rather, substitutes for the companies, which he deemed it advisable to dismiss in consequence of their disaffection.

Once more, in the middle of January, 1814, he was on his march, bending his course to a part of the Tallapoosa river, near the mouth of a creek called Emuckfaw. On the 21st, he discovered that he was in the neighborhood of the enemy. About midnight his spies came in and reported that they had discovered a large encampment of Indians, at about three miles distance, who, by their whooping and dancing, were, no doubt apprised of his arrival upon the eminences of Emuckfaw. At the dawn of day the alarm guns of the sentinels, and the shrieks and savage yells of the enemy announced an assault. The action raged for an half hour, when the Indians were put to the route. General Coffee, with four hundred men, was detached to destroy the enemy's encampment. He found it too strong to be assailed with that force, and had scarcely returned when the savages renewed their attack with increased numbers and the greatest impetuosity. The whole day was spent in severe fighting, attended by the destruction of a multitude of the assailants. They were quiet during the night; but, Jackson perceiving that his provisions were growing scarce, and that his wounded required immediate care, determined on the next day to retrace his steps. The retreat began at ten o'clock, and was continued without interruption, until night, when the army was encamped a quarter of a mile on the south side of *Enotichopco* creek, in the direction of the ford by which

it lay and by which they had already passed. The next day, after the front guard and part of the columns had crossed, the enemy who had been in pursuit, rushed from coverts upon the rear and threw the guard into confusion. Jackson was just passing the stream when the firing and yelling commenced. He repaired instantaneously to the place of action; formed the columns anew, and put them in motion, in the midst of showers of balls. The savages, being warmly pressed in their turn, broke and fled; and, in a chase of two miles, were entirely dispersed. At one moment, the destruction of the whole Tennessee band appeared almost inevitable.

The total loss on the American side in the several engagements which we have just mentioned, was only twenty killed and seventy-five wounded. The lifeless bodies of one hundred and ninety-nine of the enemy's warriors were found: the number of their wounded could not be conjectured. On the night of the 26th, Jackson encamped within three miles of Fort Strother; having accomplished the several objects of this perilous expedition; which were a diversion in favor of General Floyd, who was advancing with the army from Georgia; the prevention of a meditated attack upon Fort Armstrong by the savage bands, a considerable part of whom he either destroyed or dispersed; and the counteraction of discontent in his ranks, for which activity and battle were the best remedies.

In February he discharged the volunteers and his artillery company, receiving in their stead fresh militia drafted for the occasion. One private of these he caused to be executed for mutiny, before the end of the month—an example of severity which had the happiest effect in regard to general subordination. He suffered again, in an extreme degree, from the scarcity of provisions; but having at last by constant exertions, removed this obstacle to his plan of penetrating further into the enemy's country, he set out on the 16th of March from Fort Strother, and halted

on the 21st at the mouth of Cedar Creek. Here learning that the savages were still embodied, and were strongly posted not far from New Youcka on the Tallapoosa, he resolved to march upon them, as soon as the proper arrangements could be made for preserving his rear in safety.

On the 24th he proceeded with his whole force, which was less than three thousand effective men, and in the morning of the 27th, after a march of fifty three miles reached the village of Tohopeka. The enemy having gained intelligence of his approach, collected in considerable numbers with a view to give him battle. Their position was admirably calculated for defence. Surrounded almost entirely by the river, it was accessible only by a narrow neck of land, of 350 yards in width, which they had taken much pains to secure and defend by placing large timber and trunks of trees horizontally on each other, leaving but a single place of entrance. From a double row of port holes formed in it, they were enabled to direct their fire with a sure aim, while they appeared to be secure behind.

We need not follow out the details of this brilliant affair, so well known by the name of the battle of *Tohopeka* or *Horse Shoe*. The contest was obstinate and bloody. Jackson's troops finally scaled the ramparts of the savages, who, disdaining to surrender, leaped down the banks of the river, when they could no longer defend themselves from behind the timber and brush. The carnage continued until night separated the combatants. The general result was the destruction of the bravest of the Indian warriors and the ruin of their cause. Five hundred and fifty seven of them were left dead on the peninsula. A multitude perished in the river. Three hundred women and children were taken prisoners, and treated with humanity. The loss of the victors, including the friendly Indians, was fifty-five killed and one hundred

and forty-six wounded; among the former were some gallant officers.

Having thus struck a decisive blow, Jackson returned with his wounded, to Fort Williams. On the 2d of April, he published an address to his army, in which he complimented their courage and conduct, but told them that more remained to be done. Understanding that the enemy was yet strong at Horthlewalee, a town situated not far from the Hickory ground, or that part of the Creek country lying in the forks near the junction of the Coosa or Tallapoosa, he was anxious to resume operations as soon as possible, and unite with the North Carolina and Georgia troops, who were announced to be at no great distance, somewhere south of the Tallapoosa. On the ninth of April, he was on his march, with all his disposable force, but did not reach Horthlewalee until the 13th, owing to heavy rains which had swollen the streams that were to be crossed.—The delay afforded an opportunity to the savages to escape by flight from their pursuer, who soon afterwards effected his junction with the Georgia detachment. At the Hickory ground, the principal chiefs of the hostile tribes sued for peace—those who rejected this measure, had sought refuge along the coast and in Pensacola. Jackson prescribed to those who were disposed to renew their friendly relations with the United States, that they should retire and occupy the country about Fort Williams and to the east of the Coosa; a condition which was readily accepted; and which put it out of their power to renew hostilities with advantage at any time. Strong parties of militia were sent out to range the country and receive the submission of the natives. Much of the property plundered by them at Fort Mimms and along the frontiers was brought in and delivered up. All resistance being at an end, and there being no longer any necessity for maintaining an army in the field, orders were issued on the 21st of April, for the Tennessee troops to be marched home and discharged.

Such is the mere outline of the famous Creek war, in which Jackson, by the celerity of his movements, the inflexibility of his will, and the confidence with which his genius and demeanor inspired his associates, accomplished as much within a few months as could be thought possible, consistently with the nature and number of his army.

The complete and final discomfiture of so formidable a foe as this confederacy of Indians, drew the attention of the general government to the Tennessee commander, and produced a speedy manifestation of respect entertained for his services and character, in his appointment as brigadier and brevet Major-general in the regular army. A commission of Major-general was fowarded to him in May, 1814. The government deemed it advisable to enter into a treaty with the vanquished Indians, for the purpose chiefly of restricting their limits so as to cut off their communication with the British and Spanish agents. General Jackson was deputed with Colonel Hawkins as commissioner to negotiate with the Creeks; and on the 10th of July, he reached Alabama on this errand, and by the 10th of August accomplished an agreement, under which the Indians bound themselves to hold no communication with the British or Spanish garrisons, or foreign emissaries, and conceded to the United States, the right of erecting military posts in their country. The contraction and definition of their territorial limits were attended with considerable difficulty, but Jackson peremptorily and successfully insisted upon what he deemed necessary for the future security and permanent benefit of the United States.

During this transaction his mind was struck with the importance of depriving the fugitive and refractory savages, of the aid and incitement which were administered to them in East Florida, and he at once urged on the President the propriety of attacking and dismantling Pensacola. He studied particularly, to obtain information of the designs which the British might

have formed against the southern parts of the Union. He already anticipated the attack on New Orleans. He addressed, on his own accord, complaints to the Governor of Pensacola, and summoned him to deliver up the chiefs of the hostile Indians, who were harboured in the fortress. The Governor refused and recriminated. The American officer whom Jackson despatched to Pensacola with his expostulations, reported on his return, that he saw there nearly two hundred British officers and soldiers, and about five hundred Indians under the training of those officers, armed with new muskets, and dressed in English uniform. Jackson repeated his instances with the government, to be allowed "to plant the American Eagle" on the Spanish walls. He addressed the governors of Tennessee, Louisiana and the Mississippi territory, soliciting them to be vigilant and energetic, for dark and heavy clouds hovered over the seventh military district." He sent his Adjutant-general, Colonel Butler, to Tennessee, to raise volunteers, and himself repaired to Mobile to put that region in a state of defence.

Towards the end of August, the noted Col. Nichols with a small squadron of British ships, arrived at Pensacola, and at the expiration of a fortnight made an attack upon Fort Bowyer, situated at the extremity of a narrow neck of land, about eighteen miles below the head of Mobile bay and commanding its entrance. Nichols was repulsed with the loss of his best ship, and two hundred and thirty men killed and wounded. This position had been wholly neglected before Jackson's arrival, who perceived at once its great importance, and lost no time in strengthening it to the utmost. The British assailants retired to Pensacola, to refit and prepare to make a descent on some less guarded point.

Jackson became more and more persuaded, that unless Pensacola should be reduced, it would be in vain to think of defending his district. He was confirmed

in the plan which he had for some time revolved, of advancing against the Spanish town and throwing a force into the Barrancas, *on his own responsibility*. In the last week of October, General Coffee arrived near Fort Stephens, with two thousand able bodied and well armed men from Tennessee. Jackson hastened to the camp, took up the line of march with the American army, consisting of Coffee's brigade, the regulars and some Indians; in all about three thousand, and reached Pensacola about the 6th of November. The forts were garrisoned by the British and Spaniards, and prepared for resistance; batteries were formed in the principal streets; and the British vessels were moored within the bay, and so disposed as to command the principal entrance into the town. Jackson required that the different forts, Barrancas, St. Rose, and St. Michael, should be forthwith surrendered to be garrisoned and held by the United States, until Spain should furnish a force sufficient to protect her neutrality from the British. On the refusal of the governor to accede to these terms, Jackson pushed his troops at once into the heart of the town, having adroitly taken a different direction from that in which he was expected to appear. The Spanish batteries in the streets were charged and mastered; the Spaniards driven from their position behind the houses and fences from which they were firing vollies of musketry; and, after some carnage, the governor and his adversaries reduced to submission. Fort Barrancas was blown up by the British.

Two days after entering the town, Jackson abandoned it, and returned to Fort Montgomery, being satisfied with having driven away the British, forced the hostile Creeks to fly to the forests, and produced a salutary impression on the minds of the Spaniards. In this expedition, none of the Americans were killed, and about fifteen or twenty of them only were wounded. Soon after they had retired, the Spaniards began to rebuild Fort Barrancas and Rose; and the British

officers, anxious to gain that confidence which they had forfeited by the destruction of them, offered to assist in their re-construction. The governor declined the offer, and answered further, that when assistance was in fact needed, he would apply to his friend *General Jackson*.

After the general had sent off a detachment of one thousand men in pursuit of the Indian warriors who had assembled on the Appalachicola, with orders to destroy the depots of supplies, and their villages on the rout, and when he had reason to believe that Mobile and the inhabitants on its borders, were rendered comparatively secure by his operations and arrangements, his chief desire was to depart for New Orleans, where he had foreseen the vital danger to be, and where he knew his presence to be most material. As soon as General Winchester, who had been ordered to join him, reached the Alabama, he left Mobile. On the first of December, he was in New Orleans, and there established his head quarters. General Coffee and Colonel Hinds were ordered to march with their commands, and take a position as convenient to New Orleans as should be compatible with the object of procuring forage for the horses of the dragoons.

Louisiana was ill supplied with arms: Its motley population, French and Spaniards, were not yet sufficiently fond of the American government to fight very desperately in its defence. New Orleans was unprepared to withstand an enemy, and contained but too many traitors or mal-contents. Jackson was nearly disabled in body, by sickness and fatigue—he expected a large and perfectly appointed British force—his only means of resistance were the few regulars about him, the Tennessee volunteers, and such troops as the state of Louisiana might itself raise. He maintained however, a confident aspect, and a confident tone. He summoned, at once, the governor and citizens to exert themselves—he set them the example of unremitted activity and stern resolution. Volunteer compa-

nies were raised; batteries were repaired or constructed, and gun-boats stationed on the most eligible points on the river. He roused the Legislature, who before had done little or nothing, to lend him their concurrence. His language to them was, "with energy and expedition, all is safe—delay further, and all is lost." Commodore Patterson, who commanded the naval forces executed every order with alacrity and vigour. Certain information was soon received that an English fleet was off Cat and Ship Island, within a short distance of the American lines. On the 14th of December, forty-three British boats, mounting as many cannon; with twelve hundred chosen men, well armed attacked the American flotilla of five boats on Lake Borgne, and capturted it, but not without a severe contest and heavy loss of men. This disaster afflicted but did not dismay General Jackson. On the 16th he reviewed the militia, and harangued them with a contagious ardour of patriotism.

Resistance on the lakes being at an end, the enemy was expected to advance without much further delay. Expresses were sent off in quest of General Coffee, to whom his commander wrote, "You must not sleep until you arrive within striking distance. Innumerable defiles present themselves where your riflemen will be all important." On the night of the 19th December, Coffee encamped, with eight hundred men, within fifteen miles of New Orleans; having marched eighty miles the last day. In four days, Col. Hinds, with the Mississippi dragoons, was at his post; having effected a march of two hundred and thirty miles in that period.

Jackson was not long in discovering the truth of what had been communicated to him by the governor of Louisiana, that "the country was filled with British spies and stipendaries." He suggested to the Legislature the propriety and necessity of suspending the privilege of *habeas corpus*. While that assembly were deliberating slowly upon their power to adopt

the measure, he proclaimed the city of New Orleans and its environs to be under *martial law*, and established a most rigid military police. The crisis did not admit of any other system consistently with the public safety, and happy it was that the commander did not want either sagacity or decision. When a judge of the United States' court determined to try the question of supremacy between the civil and military power he arrested the judge and ordered him to leave the city. "I must be brief there is treason." On the 21st December, General Carroll reached General Coffee's encampment, four miles above the city, from Nashville, with two thousand Tennessee yeomanry.

On the 22d, the British were accidentally discovered emerging from the swamp and woods about seven miles below the town. In spite of all the precautions taken to guard the most dangerous avenues, treachery found out for the enemy a narrow pass, *Bayon Bienvenu*, through which they reached the banks of the Mississippi. On the 23d, at one o'clock in the afternoon, positive information of their landing was brought to Jackson. He resolved to meet them *that night*. Generals Coffee and Carroll were ordered to join him, and arrived, in two hours with their forces. As he was marching through the city, his ears were assailed with the screams of a multitude of females, who dreaded the worst consequences from the approach of the enemy. "Say to them," exclaimed he to a gentleman near him, "not to be alarmed; *the enemy shall never reach the city.*"

The number of the British was at first three thousand, and it was considerably increased during the night. The onset was made by the Americans about dusk. The battle, complicated and fierce, continued for some time until both parties were thrown into confusion, owing to the darkness of the night and the nature of the ground. The enemy yielded the field for nearly a mile. The American general, finding that they were constantly receiving reinforcements,

resolved to draw off and renew the attack at dawn of day, after he had called for general Carroll and his division, who had been left behind. Carroll soon arrived, but as the numbers of the enemy were discovered to be augmented to six thousand, Jackson deemed it expedient to forbear all offensive efforts, until the troops daily expected from Kentucky should reach their destination. Accordingly, he fell back and formed his line behind a deep ditch that ran at right angles from the river. This position was recommended by two circumstances; the swamp, which skirted the river at various distances, approached here within four hundred yards of it, and hence from the narrowness of the pass, it was more easily to be defended; there was, too, a deep canal, and the dirt being thrown on the upper side, already constituted a tolerable breast work. Behind this the American troops were found with a determination to resist there to the last extremity. The portion of them who were actually engaged in the battle on the 23d, did not amount to two thousand men. Their loss was twenty-four killed, one hundred and fifteen wounded, and seventy four made prisoners: the killed, wounded and prisoners of the enemy were not less than four hundred. This action for boldness of conception, and by the wisdom of the policy, and the importance of the result does infinite credit to the American leader. The British had believed that once landed, they should move forward to the easiest of conquests over raw militia and untried regulars. They were arrested and disconcerted, and Jackson improved the interval of their hesitation and cautious preparation, to strengthen his works and organize the state militia who were arriving every day. The canal fronting the line was deepened and widened, a strong wall of earth built, the levee cut almost a hundred yards below, embrasures pierced, &c. Having made these and various other important and judicious arrangments; and possessing, as he remarked "a rampart of high minded and brave

men," he felt and expressed a degree of confidence which animated even the recruits who were strangers to him and to every kind of military service.

The enemy were abundantly active on their side though at first ignorant of his situation and designs. They brought up in the direction of their encampment, their artillery, bombs and ammunition. By means of a battery which they erected in the night of the 27th, they destroyed the American armed schooner Caroline, lying under the opposite shore. Gathering hardihood from this circumstance, which in fact, deprived Jackson of a material aid, they left their encampment and moved towards the American lines. Their numbers had been increased and sir Edward Packenham, their commander in chief, led them in person on the 28th December, to storm the works. Their heavy artilery discharged showers of bombs, balls, and rockets. These it was thought would ensure success; and they were moving forward with all the pride and pomp of war, when the American batteries opened and caused their advance to halt. The conflict continued in several quarters until the assailants, being too roughly handled, abandoned for a time, the general attack which they meditated. One hundred and twenty of them were killed and wounded; the loss of the Americans did not exceed nine killed and eight or ten wounded.

While Jackson and his comrades were thus bravely repelling the foe, a panic seized the legislature of New Orleans. Apprized that it was secretly agitated to offer terms of capitulation, he directed the governor to arrest the members and hold them subject to his further orders, the moment the project of surrendering should be fully disclosed. The governor at once placed an armed force at the door of the capitol; prevented the members from convening, & thus stifled whatever schemes might have been proposed. Various and shrewd devices were practiced by Jackson to conceal from the enemy the comparative paucity of this force, and the miserable dearth of arms in his camp. From

the general government no supply of arms and ordnance had been received, except one boatload brought down the Mississippi by general Carroll.

Skirmishes alone, by advanced parties, occurred for several days after the attack of the 28th Dec. The British were encamped two miles below the American army, on a perfect plain, and in full view. In the interval between the period just mentioned and the 1st of January, they were busy in preparing for another assault on an enlarged scale. An impenetrable fog prevailed during the night of the 31st, and until nine o'clock the following morning: when that was dispelled, there stood disclosed to the Americans, several heavy batteries, at the distance of six hundred yards, mounting eighteen twenty-four pound carronades. These were immediately opened by the British, and a tremendous discharge of artillery, accompanied by Congreve rockets, was mained untill near noon. A vast number of balls were directed against the building in which Jackson was believed to be in. It was battered into a heap of ruins, but the general, according to his custom, had repaired to the line as soon as he heard the sound of the enemy's cannon. The roar of the American guns proved that there would be a vigorous defence: and with such effect were they managed, that the British batteries were disabled; and the assailants compelled to retire, by three o'clock, despairing of a breach in the line, and astonished at the precision with which the "Yankees" threw their shot. An advance was made upon general Coffee's brigade, in order to turn the left, but with no better success. To be prepared against all contingencies Jackson had established another line of defence about two miles in the rear, and where his unarmed troops (no inconsiderable number) were stationed as a shew of strength.

On the 4th of January, arrived the long expected reinforcement from Kentucky, amounting to two thousand two hundred and fifty men, of whom about five hundred had muskets, and the rest guns, from which

little or no service could be anticipated. New Orleans had been previously searched for weapons and stripped of whatever were discovered. The British were at the same time reinforced in a much more satisfactory way for them. Now approached the great and last struggle. General Jackson, unmoved by appearances, anxiously desired it—he seldom slept—he was always at his post, that there might be no relaxation of vigilance on any side.

On *the memorable 8th of January*, the signals, intended to produce concert in the enemy's movements, were descried at dawn: They were prepared to storm the line, and the charge was made with so much celerity that the American soldiers at the out posts had scarcely time to fly in. Showers of bombs and balls were poured from new batteries. The two British divisions commanded by Sir Edward Packenham in person, pressed forward. A thick fog enabled them to approach within a short distance of the intrenchments before they were discovered: but this circumstance ensured them defeat and destruction. The American artillery and small arms, discharged in a continual volley, mowed down their works and arrested their progress. The fatal aim of the western marksmen was never so terribly exemplified. Sir Edward Packenham, seeing that his troops wavered and receded, hastened to the front, but quickly fell mortally wounded, in the arms of his aid-de-camp. Generals Gibbs and Keene were also dangerously hurt and borne from the field, which by this time was strewed with dead and dying. The British columns, often broken and driven back, were repeatedly formed and urged forward anew. Convinced at last that nothing could be accomplished, they abandoned the contest, and a general and disorderly retreat ensued. One American redoubt was carried by superior numbers, but quickly evacuated under the fire of the riflemen at the line. So great was the carnage of the British; so perilous the disorder into which they were

thrown, that had arms been possessed by that large portion of the American militia who had remained inactive and useless for the want of them, *the whole British force must have surrendered.* But, under the peculiar circumstances of the case, Jackson was unable to attempt, without extreme rashness, a pursuit of the vanquished. He adopted the safe alternative of continuing in his position.

According to General Lambert's official report of the affair of the 8th, the British loss, in the main attack on the left bank of the river, amounted to upwards of two thousand men, in killed, wounded and prisoners. It may be estimated at nearly *three thousand*, while that of the Americans was but *thirteen.* The *effective* force of the latter at the line of the left bank, was three thousand seven hundred—that of the enemy at least nine thousand. The whole force landed from the British ships in Louisiana is believed to have been about fourteen thousand. The British Commander in Chief, and Major General Gibbs died of their wounds, besides many of the most valued and distinguished British officers. On the ninth the enemy requested and obtained an armistice of some hours to bury their dead.

After the action of the 8th the American batteries were continually throwing balls, and bombs, into the British camp. Harrassed, dismayed, and enfeebled, that once powerful army which was to arrive at New Orleans by a primrose path, and hold in subjection all the lower region of the Mississippi, took a final and furtive leave in the night of the 18th of January, and embarked in their shipping for the West Indies. Thus ended the mighty invasion, in twenty-six days after the foreign standard had been exultingly planted on the bank of the Mississippi. Thus triumphed General Jackson, by a wonderful combination of boldness and prudence; energy and adroitness, desperate fortitude and anxious patriotism.

Though the enemy had withdrawn from New Or-

leans in the manner which has been stated, Jackson could not be sure that they would not return. Against this contingency, he prepared himself by cautious arrangements in the distribution of his force and the construction of new defences at assailable points, before he returned to New Orleans. In that city he was received as a deliverer—almost every mind was kindled to enthusiasm from the consideration of the evils which he had averted, as well as of the victories which he had gained. The most solemn and lively demonstrations of public respect and gratitude succeeded each other daily, until the period of his departure for Nashville soon after the anunciation of the peace concluded at Ghent between Great Britain and the United States. Though honoured and cherished by the larger part of the citizens, he was not, however without occasion to display the energy and decision of his character in a way that favoured the ends of jealousy and detraction. Anonymous articles calculated to excite mutiny among the troops and afford the enemy dangerous intelligence, having appeared in one of the newspapers of New Orleans, he caused the author to be revealed to him by the editor of the paper. He found that the offender was a member of the Legislature, but this circumstance did not prevent him from ordering his arrest and detention for trial. Application was made to one of the Judges for a writ of Habeas Corpus and it was immediately issued. We have already mentioned that Jackson arrested the Judge also and sent him from the city. We now advert again to this incident, in order to relate the sequel. The General had not yet raised the edict of martial law, there being no certain intelligence of peace or of the departure of the enemy from the coast. Within a few days the cessation of hostilities was officially announced. The judge was restored to his post and the exercise of his functions. Without loss of time a rule of court was granted for General Jackson to appear and show cause why an attachment for contempt should not issue, on

the ground that he had refused to obey a writ and imprisoned the organ of the law. He did not hesitate to appear and submit a full and very able answer, justifying his proceedings. After argument before the Court, the rule was made absolute; an attachment sued out, and Jackson brought up to answer interrogatories. He declined answering them; but asked for the sentence, which the Judge then proceeded to pass. It was *a fine of one thousand dollars.* The spectators who crowded the hall betrayed the strongest indignation. As soon as he entered his carriage, it was seized by the people and drawn by them to the coffee house, amid the acclamations of a large concourse. When he arrived at his quarters, he put the amount of his fine into the hands of his aid-de-camp, and caused it to be discharged without delay. He was scarcely beforehand with the citizens, who in a short time raised the sum among themselves, by contribution, and were anxious to be permitted to testify at once their gratitude and shame. What was thus collected was appropriated at his request to a charitable institution. He enjoyed the consciousness that the powers which the exigency of the times forced him to assume, had been exercised exclusively for the public good and that they had saved the country. In 1821, the Corporation of New Orleans voted *fifty thousand dollars* for erecting a marble statue appropriate to his military services. The same body gave also one thousand dollars for a portrait of him painted by Mr. Earle of Nashville. Thus the miserable fine may be said to have been obliterated.

On his return to Nashville—a journey of eight hundred miles—he saw on every side marks of exultation and delight. It must be within the memory of most of our readers, what was the sensation produced throughout the union by the tidings from New Orleans, and what the popular enthusiasm concerning the merits of "Old Hickory."

For two years afterwards he remained on his farm,

retaining his rank in the army, but chiefly occupied with rural pleasures and labors. In this interval, the portion of the Seminoles who were driven into Florida, combining with fugitive negroes from the adjoining states, and instigated by British adventurers whose objects were blood and rapine, became formidable in numbers and hardihood, and began to execute schemes of robbery and vengeance against the Americans of the frontiers. It having been represented to the American government that murders had been committed on our defenceless citizens, General Gaines, the acting commander in the southern district, was ordered in the summer of 1817, with a considerable force, to take a station near the borders for their protection. He was at first directed to keep within the territorial limits of the United States, and abstai from every attempt to cross the Florida line; but to demand of the Indians, the perpetrators of the crimes thus committed, without involving the innocent, and without a general rupture with the deluded savages. Such murders having been ascertained to have been committed, attended with aggravating circumstances of rapine and cruelty, General Gaines, in conformity with his orders, made the demand. The savages through the deceptive representations of foreign incendiaries, were led to believe that the strength of the United States was not sufficient to subdue them; or, if their own forces were incompetent to sustain the conflict, they would receive assistance from the British. The promises made by unauthorised agents, were founded upon a pretence that the United States had bound themselves, by the treaty of Ghent, to restore the lands which the Indians had ceded at Fort Jackson, previously to that treaty; and that the British government would enforce its observance. Under this influence they not only refused to deliver the murderers, but repeated their massacres whenever opportunity offered; and, to evade the arm of justice, took refuge across the line, in Florida. In this state

of affairs in November 1817, Lieut. Scott, of the U. S. army under Gen. Gaines, with 47 persons, men, women, and children, in a boat, on the Appalachicola river, about a mile below the junction of the Flint and Cohatahoochie, was surprised by an ambuscade of Indians, fired upon, and the whole detachment, killed and taken by the Indians, except six men who escaped by flight. Those who were taken alive, were wantonly murdered by the ferocious savages, who seized the little children and dashed out their brains against the side of the boat, and butchered all the helpless females except one, who was afterwards retaken. General Gaines was not yet authorised to cross into Florida; to enforce a compliance with his demand for the delivery of the murderers, while the Indians were collecting in large numbers upon the line, which they seemed to think a perfect safeguard, and from which they continued their predatory excursions. A letter from the Secretary of War, of the 9th of Dec. 1817, authorised General Gaines, in case this state of things should continue, and it should become impossible by any other means, to prevent their depredations, to exercise a sound discretion as to crossing the Florida line, in order to break up their establishments; and on the 16th of the same month, the Secretary of War, by letter, directed to General Gaines, fully authorised him to cross the line, and attack the Indians within the Spanish territory, should they still refuse to make reparation for depredations already committed.

Intelligence being received by the war department of the massacre of Lieutenant Scott and his companions. General Jackson was directed, by letter of the 26th December, 1817, to repair to Fort Scott, and take command of the forces in that quarter, with authority, in case he should deem it necessary, to call upon the executives of the adjacent states for additional force. He was referred to the previous orders given to general Gaines, and directed to concentrate his

forces, and adopt "the measures necessary to terminate a conflict which had been avoided from considerations of humanity, but which had now become indispensable, from the settled hostility of the savage enemy." In January following, the Secretary of War, in a letter to general Gaines, said, "The honor of the United States requires, that the war with the Seminoles should be terminated speedily, and with exemplary punishment for hostilities so unprovoked." Under these orders, and in this critical state of affairs, general Jackson, having first collected Tennessee volunteers, with that zeal and promptness which have ever marked his career, repaired to the post assigned, and assumed the command. The necessity of crossing the line into Florida was no longer a subject of doubt. A large force of Indians and negroes had made that territory their refuge, and the Spanish authority was either too weak or too indifferent to restrain them; and to comply with orders given him from the department of war, he penetrated immediately into the Seminole towns, driving the enemy before him, and reduced them to ashes. In the council house of the king of the Mickasukians, more than 50 fresh scalps, and in an adjacent house, upwards of 300 old scalps, of all ages and sexes, were found; and in the centre of the public square a red pole was erected, crowned with scalps, known by the hair to have belonged to the companions of lieut. Scott.

To inflict merited punishment upon the barbarians, and to prevent a repetition of these massacres, by bringing the war to a speedy and successful termination, he pursued his march to St. Marks: there he found, conformably to previous information that the Indians and negroes demanded the surrender of the post to them; and that the Spanish garrison, according to the commandant's own acknowledgment, was too weak to support it. He ascertained also that the enemy had been supplied with the means of carrying on the war, from the commandant of the post; that foreign incendiaries, instigating the savages, had free

communication with the fort; councils of war were permitted by the commandant to be held by the chiefs and warriors within his own quarters; the Spanish storehouses were appropriated to the use of the hostile party, and actually filled with goods belonging to them and property, known to have been plundered from American citizens, was purchased from them by the commandant, while he professed friendship to the U. States. General Jackson, therefore, had no hesitation to demand of the commandant of St. Marks, the surrender of that post, that it might be garrisoned with an American force, and, when the Spanish officer hesitated to deliver it, he entered the fort by force, though without bloodshed, the enemy having fled, and the garrison too weak to make opposition. Convinced of the necessity of rapid movements, in regard to the ultimate success of the expedition, he immediately marched his forces to Suwany, seized upon the stores of the enemy and burnt their villages.

A variety of circumstances convinced Gen. Jackson that the savages had commenced their war, and persisted in their barbarities; under the influence of some foreign incendiaries, more criminal than the uncivilized natives. *Alexander Arbuthnot*, who avowed himself a British subject and resided among the savages as an Indian trader, was taken at St. Marks, to which place he had withdrawn as danger approached, and was living as an inmate in the family of the commandant. It appearing that he had been a zealous advocate for the pretended rights of the savages, and in this respect the successor of the notorious Colonel Nichols, of the British Colonial Marines; that he had repeatedly written in their behalf to the Spanish Governor of St. Augustine, the Governor of Bahamas, the British minister in the United States, and to Colonel Nichols, endeavouring to procure aid from both those governors against the United States; that he had repeatedly advised the Indians not to comply with the treaty of Fort Jackson, assuring them that the lands

ceded to the United States by them in 1814, were to be restored by virtue of the treaty of peace with Great Britain. Gen. Jackson ordered him to be tried by a Court of Enquiry, consisting of 13 respectable officers, with Major Gen. Gaines, as president. Upon satisfactory testimony, he was convicted of inciting and stirring up the hostile Creeks to war against the United States and her citizens; and of aiding, abbetting, and comforting the enemy, supplying them with means of war; and by the Court was sentenced *to be hung.—Robert C. Ambrister*, late a Lieutenant of the British Marine corps, and with the hostile Indians and fugitive negroes the successor of Woodbine, of notorious memory, was taken near the mouth of Suwaney river. It being well known that he had been a leader and commander of the hostile Indians and fugitive slaves, Gen. Jackson ordered him to be tried by the same Court Martial. Upon abundant evidence he also was convicted of having aided and comforted the enemy, supplying them with the means of war by giving them intelligence of the movements and operations of the army of the United States, and by sending the Indians and Negroes to meet and fight against them: and upon his own confession, as well as the clearest proof of his having led and commanded the lower Creeks in carrying on the war against the United States, he was by the Court sentenced *to be shot.* One of the members however requesting a reconsideration of the sentence, it was agreed to; and on a revision, the Court sentenced him to receive 50 stripes on his bare back, and be confined with a ball and chain to hard labour for 12 calender months. Gen. Jackson approved the sentence in the case of Arbuthnot: and, in the case of Ambrister, he disapproved the reconsideration, and confirmed the first sentence. They were both executed accordingly.

Having thus far effected his objects, Gen. Jackson considered the war at an end. St. Marks being garrisoned by an American force, the Indian towns at

Mickasuky and Suwaney destroyed; the two Indian chiefs who had been the prime movers and leaders of the savages, one of whom had commanded the party who murdered Lieutenant Scott and his companions, and the two principal foreign instigators, Arburthnot and Ambrister, having been taken and executed, the American commander ordered the Georgia militia, who had joined him, to be discharged, and was about to return to Tennessee. But he soon learned that the Indians and negroes were collecting in bands west of the Appalachicola; which would render it necessary for him to send a detachment to scour the country in that quarter. While preparing for this object, he was informed that the Indians were admitted freely by the Governor of Pensacola; that they were collecting in large numbers, 500 being in Pensacola on the 15th of April, many of whom were known to be hostile, and had just escaped from the pursuit of our troops; that the enemy was furished with ammunition and supplies; and received intelligence of the movements of our forces, from that place; that a number of them had sallied out and murdered 18 of our citizens, settlers, upon the Alabama, and were immediately received by the Governor, and by him transported across the bay, that they might elude pursuit.

These facts being ascertained by gen. Jackson from unquestionable authority, he immediately took up his line of march towards Pensacola, at the head of a detachment of about 1200 men, for the purpose of counteracting the views of the enemy. On the 18th of May, he crossed the Appalachicola at the Ocheese village with the view of scouring the country west of that river; and, on the 23d of the same month, he received a communication from the government of West Florida, protesting against his entrance into that province, commanding him to retire from it, and declaring that he would repel force by force, if he should not obey. This communication, together with other indications of hostility in the governor, who had been

well advised of the object of general Jackson's operations, determined the measures to be pursued. He marched directly for Pensacola, and took possession of that place on the following day, the governor having fled to fort Carlos de Barrancas: which post, after a feeble resistance, was also surrendered on the 28th. By these events, the Indians and fugitive negroes were effectually deprived of all possible means of continuing their depredations, or screaning themselves from the arm of justice. They were so scattered and reduced as to be no longer a formidable enemy; but as there were still many small marauding parties supposed to be concealed in the swamps, who might make sudden and murderous inroads upon the American frontier settlers, Jackson called in two companies of volunteer rangers, with instructions to scour the country between Mobile and Appalachicola rivers. Thus ended the campaign and the seminole war. The severest hardships were undergone by the troops and their general with the utmost fortitude. They did not encounter any considerable bands of the foe, though the latter had been embodied to the number of two thousand; but the kind of warfare which they were compelled to wage was on that account the more exhausting and arduous.

Jackson returned to Nashville in June, 1818, to the beloved retirement of his farm. New acknowledgments and new marks of admiration were bestowed upon him in every part of the Union. If the general government deemed it expedient to restore St. Marks and Pensacola to the Spanish authorities, it yet applauded and defended what he had done. The British cabinet, after full inquiry, resolved to abstain, from all complaint respecting the execution of Arbuthnot and Ambrister. They declared that these culprits had leagued with the Indians, and acted at their own peril. The conduct of the Tennessee warrior was, however, destined to the most vehemently arraigned and rigidly scrutinized in another quarter.

Parties were formed in different parts of the country respecting the propriety of the occupation of the Spanish fortresses, and the execution of the British incendiaries. In the month of January, 1818, in the house of representatives of the United States, a committee reported a resolution disapproving the latter of those acts; and a member moved another resolution, condemning the former of them. These resolutions gave rise to a most elaborate debate, which was protracted through many weeks, and in which Jackson and the executive department were attacked and defended with the utmost zeal and signal ability. Every proposition to condemn either was finally rejected by a considerable majority of the house, and reprobated by a much larger majority of the people. The most eloquent of the orators who supported the resolutions, proclaimed that "he most cheerfully and entirely acquitted the general of any intention to violate the laws of his country, or the obligations of humanity." Whoever studies Jackson's ample and argumentative despatches, and the speeches delivered in his behalf, must be convinced that he did neither, and that in making an example of the two instigators and confederates of the savages, and seizing upon fortresses, which were only used for hostile purposes, he avenged and served the cause of humanity and the highest national interest.

His desire of explaining his transactions in person, to the government, and defending himself on every side, carried him to Washington at this period. Thence he came to Philadelphia, and proceeded to New York. Wherever he appeared, crowds attended with unceasing plaudits. In each of these cities public dinners and balls were given in his honor; military escorts provided; addresses delivered by deputations; and to these his answers were uniformly pertinent and dignified. At New York, on the 19th February, he received the freedom of the city in a gold box; and there as well as in Baltimore, the municipal councils requested, and obtained his portrait, to be

placed in their halls. While he was on this excursion, a report, connected with the history of the Seminole war, and extremely hostile to his character, was made from a Committee of the Senate of the United States. It had not the concurrence of the ablest members of the committee, and it was brought forward at too late a period of the session of Congress to be discussed, Nothing more was supposed to be meant by its author than to cast an indictment before the public. It was repelled triumphantly, in a defence which was published in the National Intelligencer, on the 5th of March, and which has been ascribed to general Jackson. He felt deeply imputations which he knew to be not only false but utterly irreconcilable with his nature. The issue of all the reports and harangues was such as might give additional comfort to his domestic hours on his return to his farm, where he enjoyed again a period of repose.

When the treaty with Spain ceding the Floridas was finally ratified, Congress passed a law empowering the President to vest in such person or persons as he might select, all the military civil and judicial authority exercised by the officers of the Spanish government. The president, under this law, appointed gen. Jackson, to act first as commissioner for receiving the Provinces, and then to assume the government of them. It was intended and expressed that the American Governor should exercise all the functions belonging to the Spanish Governors, Captain Generals, and Intendants, until Congress should provide a system of administration as in the instances of the other territories.

The selection of Jackson was not a mere mark of honour, or testimonial of public gratitude. His intimate acquaintance with the country and the energy of his nature recommended him specially for the post of Governor. Florida was over run with desperadoes of every description; it was a resort of a motley horde of speculators, smugglers of negroes, and adventur-

ers of all nations; it had become the theatre of complicated intrigue and misrule. His personal reputation was calculated to overawe corruption and violence; his inflexibilty and activity in repressing all disorder and spoil were sure grounds of reliance for the President. It was not without reluctance he accepted this new and almost absolute civil command involving an arduous task and a delicate responsibility. But having acceded, from a sense of duty, to the nomination, he repaired to his station with his usual promptitude. On the first of July, 1821, he issued at Pensacola, his proclamation announcing that possession had been taken of the territory, and the authority of the United States established in it under his commission. He adopted at once rigorous measures for the introduction of a regular and efficacious administration of affairs. Courts were organized; a police was instituted, and such a scheme of territorial division adopted as was required for the convenience of the inhabitants and the speedy execution of the laws. An occasion arising out of the previous and prescriptive laxity of principle and perversion of right in the provinces, soon presented itself for the exertion of his official powers and generous sympathies.

The treaty with Spain prescribed that all documents relating to property or sovereignty should be left in possession of the American authorities. On the 22d August, a petition was submitted to the Governor, in his capacity of the highest judicial magistrate from the American alcade, or keeper of archieves, that certain public documents or records, required by individuals to enable them to prosecute their claims to property, were unlawfully detained in the hands of a person of the name of *Sousa*. The governor issued his commission to three officers, to wait on Sousa and request him to exhibit and deliver up all such documents in his possession. Sousa exhibited two open boxes of papers which he affirmed had been entrusted to his care for safe keeping by the late Spanish gov-

ernor, colonel Callava. The boxes when examined were found to contain the documents wanted and other records of suits for property between individuals. All these were demanded by the officers, but refused by Sousa, who promised, however, to consult colonel Callava. These facts being reported to general Jackson, he issued a summons to Sousa to appear before him, in case he persisted in retaining the papers. The answer given was, that the papers had been sent to colonel Callava, and were in the latter's house. Two of the official family of the American governor were then directed by him to repair with the alcade to Callava's dwelling, to demand the papers, and if they were refused, to require both Callava and his steward who had received them from Sousa, to appear before the Governor. The Spaniard insisted at first upon retaining the papers, and after promising to surrender them, when a list was furnished, and failing to do so, and obstinately refusing to obey the summons in any manner, he was finally conducted under guard to the office of the Governor. When there he was informed of the nature and propriety of the demand made upon him, and apprized that the further withholding of the papers would be regarded as a contempt of the Governor's judicial authority; and subject him to imprisonment. He would do nothing but dictate protests, when the patience of Jackson being exhausted, he, his steward and Sousa were committed to prison, until the papers should be obtained.

The next morning the box in which the papers had been seen was seized and opened by officers specially commissioned. It had been carefully sealed by Callava, and was found to contain what was sought. Callava and his companion were then released from jail. The records thus recovered related to the estate of a person who died at Pensacola, about the year 1807, having made his will, and bequeathed his property to several orphan females, who had never received any portion of it, owing to the dishonesty of the individu-

als, who were at the same time its depositories and debtors. Callava himself had made decrees in favour of the heirs, which were discovered in the box and had been suppressed under corrupt influence. It was his object to carry off all the evidence necessary for redress. He afterwards published in the American papers an exposition of the treatment which he had experienced, and was convicted in due time of various misrepresentations by the counter statements of the respectable gentlemen who were employed in the affair by the governor. He claimed for himself the immunities of an ambassador, having acted as the deputy of the Captain General of Cuba, in surrendering the Floridas. But as his quality of commissioner had ceased when the surrender was completed, Jackson could view him only in the light of a private individual charged with violating both public and private rights, and determined to set the supreme judicatory at defiance. To have allowed the wrong which was designed to be committed, would have been utterly inconsistent with what was due to the dignity and power of the United States, and the claims of oppressed individuals whose sex and situation particularly entitled them to protection and sympathy. The just language of Jackson, narrating and justifying his proceedings to the President, was—"When men of high standing attempt to trample upon the rights of the weak, they are the fittest objects for example or punishment. In general the great can protect themselves; but the poor and humble require the arm and shield of the law." Among the civil officers sent to Florida, by the President, was a former senator of the United States, Elegius Fromentin, who went in the capacity of a judge, with a jurisdiction limited to cases that might arise under the Revenue Laws, and the acts of Congress prohibiting the introduction of slaves. This gentleman consented rashly, at the instigation of some of the friends of Callava, to issue the writ of *habeas corpus* to extricate the Spaniard

from confinement. The general Judiciary Act for the United States under which alone the Judge could claim the right of thus interfering, had not been extended to the Floridas. Jackson displayed his characteristic decision and intelligence in this case—he cited the Judge to appear before him and answer to the charge of a contempt of the superior court and a serious misdemeanor. The prisoner was released, the papers having been obtained, before Mr. Fromentin was able to present himself pursuant to the summons. The General was then content with defining to him the limits of his competency as Judge, and uttering a severe rebuke of his precipitation. Very bitter complaints were afterwards made by both parties to the executive department at Washington.

This event was not the end of the Callava case, as it has been called. Several Spanish officers who had remained with the ex-governor in the province ventured to publish in a Pensacola paper, an article with their signatures, in which they accused the general of violence and tyranny. It was stipulated in the treaty of cession, that all the Spanish officers should be withdrawn from the territories ceded, within six months after the ratification of the treaty. More than this term had elapsed. Jackson issued his proclamation without delay, commanding them, as trespassers and disturbers of the public peace, to depart in the course of a week. They had not the folly to remain. About the same period, important documents and archives, which the Spaniards had no right to detain, were attempted to be withheld by the ex-governor of East Florida. Jackson, on hearing of this attempt, transmitted, by mail, his orders to take forcible possession of them, which was done accordingly. The ex-governor protested; but upon insufficient grounds, and with personal disgrace.

These occurrences produced much discussion in the newspapers, and vehement remonstrances from the Minister Plenipotentiary of Spain in this country.

Jackson's interpretation of his own powers, and those of Judge Fromentin, and his measures to prevent the abduction of the papers, were ratified and fully vindicated by the American government. The undue influence which the Spanish officers contrived to raise in their favour, with the assistance of the General's personal enemies, soon subsided after the facts and respective rights became better known. On the 7th of October, Jackson delegated his powers to two gentlemen, the sectaries of his government, and set out on his return to Nashville. In his dignified and argumentative valedictory address to the citizens of Florida, he informed them he had completed the temporary organization of the two provinces. He stated, and justified his motives for acting as he had done in the case of Callava. "With the exception of this instance" added he, "I feel the utmost confidence in saying, that nothing has occurred, notwithstanding the numerous cases in which I have been called upon to interpose my authority, either in a judicial or executive capacity, to occasion any thing like distrust or discontent.

The injury which his health had suffered from the personal hardships, inevitable in his campaigns, forbade him to protract his residence in Florida. Before his departure he received from the citizens spontaneous public manifestations of esteem and gratitude. Attempts were made at the ensuing session of Congress, to obtain a condemnation of his conduct towards Callava, but they utterly failed, both with the Legislature and the people. On the 4th of July, 1822, the governor of Tennessee, by order of the Legislature, presented him with a sword as a testimonial "of the high respect" entertained by the state for his public services. And on the 20th of August, of the same year, the members of the General Assembly of Tennessee recommended him to the Union for the office of President—a recommendation which has been repeated by the Legislature of Alabama, and various

assemblages of private citizens in other parts of the country. In the autumn of 1823, he was elected to the Senate of the United States, in which body he has taken his seat. Social honours are heaped upon him at Washington, and fresh evidence is daily transmitted thither, of the high estimation in which he is held at a distance. In the south-western, and some of the southern states, and in Pennsylvania he is eminently popular. Before his election to the Senate, he was appointed by the President, with the concurrence of the Senate, Minister Plenipotentiary to the government of Mexico; but he declined the station from a repugnance to the monarchical system which then prevailed in Mexico, and to the means by which the supreme power had been usurped.

In 1824, General Jackson was generally supported, as a candidate for the office of President of the United States. He received a majority in the electoral colleges over any of the opposing candidates, but not a majority of the whole, consequently the election devolved on congress, where he failed; being a few votes in the minority.

In person, general Jackson is tall, and remarkably erect and thin. His weight bears no proportion to his height, and his frame, in general, does not appear fitted for trials such as it has borne. His features are large, his eyes dark blue, with a keen and strong glance; his eyebrows arched and prominent—his complexion is that of the war-worn soldier. His demeanor is easy and gentle—in every station he has been found open and accessible to all. The irritability of his temper, which is not denied by his friends, produces contrasts in his manner and countenance, leading to very different conceptions and representations as to both; but that natural infirmity has decreased, and those who have lived and acted with him, bear unanimous testimony to the general mildness of his carriage and the kindness of his disposition. It is certain he has inspired his soldiers, his military household, his

domestic circle, and his neighbours, with the most affectionate sentiments. The impetuosity of his nature, his impatience of wrong and encroachment, his contempt for meanness, and his tenaciousness of just authority, have involved him in bitter altercations and sanguinary quarrels: — his resentments have been fiercely executed, and his censures harshly uttered; yet he cannot be accused of wanton or malicious violence the sallies which may be deemed intemperate can be traced to strong provocation, operating, in most instances, upon his patriotic zeal and the very generosity and loftiness of his spirit. He sacrificed the enemies of his country, where he deemed that signal examples of rigour were necessary for the public welfare and the lasting suppression of murder and rapine —he was never found wanting in clemency and humanity towards those whom essential justice and paramount duty allowed him to spare and relieve. Thus, after the battle of the *Horse Shoe*, in the Creek war, every Indian warrior was spared who surrendered himself—several of his own men lost their lives in endeavouring, by his orders, to save some obstinate individuals who refused to surrender; although his own troops were suffering, with hunger, he forbade the corn of the Indians to be taken from them, and caused the wounded among the latter to be dressed and nursed as his own men. At the battle of Tohopeka, an infant was found alive on the breast of its lifeless Indian mother: Jackson directed it to be brought to him, and not being able to prevail upon any one of the Indian women to undertake the care of it, adopted it into his family, and has ever since proved a kind protector to the orphan.

In the various critical situations in which he was placed by emergencies and the unlimited discretion cast upon him, he appears to have been governed by general and solid principles which he knew how to apply satisfactorily in explaining his measures. The very salutary energy and decision with which he pur-

sued the course, that he had deliberately concluded to be right and necessary, subjected him to the belief or charge of having acted merely from a vehement overbearing, or arbitrary disposition. If his feelings were strongly roused and displayed against the timid or traitorous portion of the inhabitants of New Orleans who would have given the enemy an easy and fatal triumph—against the Spanish authorities in Florida who served the British and supplied the Seminoles—against Arbuthnot and Ambrister, the unwearied instigators and insidious confederates of the Savages thirsting for American blood—against the impostor prophets, who had directed the butchery of white women and children, and whose occupation it was to incite depredation and murder—against a Spanish Governor who would have violated a treaty and despoiled orphan females of their inheritance—we may say that both the warmth of those feelings, and the rigour with which they were manifested, will not only be excused, but even admired by generous minds.

The copious despatches which General Jackson had occasion to write to the government, detailing his campaigns and official proceedings; his numerous addresses to his troops, and the statements and arguments, which the charges preferred against his official conduct, compelled him to publish for his justification, would altogether, form a sizeable volume. They are marked with great energy and fluency of expression; cogent reasoning; apt reference to general principles, and the utmost earnestness and apparent rectitude of intention. He writes nervously and conspicuously; he speaks with facility and force. Grace and refinement, he has not studied either in composition or delivery. Those qualities are not to be expected in one whose life has been chiefly passed in such scenes as we have sketched. He is artificial in nothing. His reading cannot be supposed to be extensive nor his application to books very frequent. In regard to *business* he has been always found indefatigable and sa-

gacious. He possesses a competent estate, and lives hospitably in the manner of a substantial farmer. He is without children. His amusements have consisted in the management of his domestic concerns, the sports of the turf and social intercourse. He is temperate in his diet and in all respects enjoys a good private reputation. His public character is to be known from the history of his public career, which we have regularly, though very imperfectly traced.

LIFE OF ADAMS.

JOHN QUINCY ADAMS was born at Braintree, Mass. July 11, 1767. In the 11th of year his age, 1778, he accompanied his father, John Adams, late President of the United States, to France, the father being joint commissioner with Dr. Franklin and Arthur Lee to that Court. After residing about 18 months in France, he returned home with his father. In 1779, the father of Mr. Adams was again sent to Europe, with a commission for negotiating peace, and a treaty of commerce with Great Britain. He took again his son J. Q. Adams with him. They arrived in Paris after a disastrous passage, and the son was put to school in that city.—And when it became necessary for the father to go to Holland, in pursuance of his official duties, he took his son with him, and first placed him in a public city school in Amsterdam, and afterwards, at a suitable time, at the university at Leyden. In July, 1781, the son, as private secretary, accompanied to St. Petersburg, the late Judge Dana, who had been appointed Minister Plenipotentiary to the Empress of Russia. He remained with Judge Dana about fourteen months when he left St. Petersburg to rejoin his father in Holland. The father was, on the arrival of the son in Holland,

at Paris, on business relating to his commission. The son however remained at the Hague. The father soon rejoined his son, and in a short time after they both went to Paris. The definite treaty was signed in September, 1783; and they both resided together in England, Holland and France, until 1785.

The father was appointed, about this time, minister to the court of St. James; and the son returned to this country. After preparatory studies he was admitted a student at Cambridge University, where he received the degree of bachelor of arts, in 1787. After completing his collegiate studies, he commenced the reading of law in the office of the late Theophilus Parsons, at Newburyport, and at the expiration of the usual period allowed for acquiring a law education, was admitted to the bar in the Courts of the State, and commenced the practice in Boston.

He remained in Boston about four years, during which time his professional practice was inconsiderable. His attention was chiefly engrossed by political subjects. In the summer of 1791, he published a series of numbers in the Boston Centinel, under the signature of *Publicola*. These papers were at the time, unpopular, as containing political heresy, and questioning the infallibility of the French Revolution. He also published a few numbers in the same paper, under the signature of *Marcellus*. The latter were much noticed, and are now consigned to oblivion. But his subsequent papers, in the support of Washington's proclamation of neutrality, attracted a large share of public attention, and were popular, as they comported with the sentiments of a majority of the people of this country, at that time.

In 1794, he was appointed minister resident to the United Netherlands. When this appointment took place, his father was Vice President of the United States. It is said that appointment was as unexpected to him as to his son, but with what authority we know not.

From 1794 to 1801, J. Q. Adams was in Europe,

successfully employed as a public minister in Holland, England, and Prussia. He was, while in Europe, nominated by Washington, as minister Plenipotentiary to the Court of Lisbon; but at the accession of his father to the Presidency, his destination was changed and he was appointed minister to the Court of Berlin. The appointment entitled him to the outfit of minister plenipotentiary, $9,000, although he was then in Europe; but it is said he only received a sum, which, together with what he received as minister resident in Netherlands, made up the usual amount allowed to foreign ministers.

He remained at Berlin from November, 1797, until April 1801: and during that time concluded a treaty of commerce with Prussia. He was then recalled, and arrived in Philadelphia in September 1801, just before the commencement of Jefferson's administration.

In 1802, he was elected a member of the Senate of Massachusetts, and served in that capacity one year. He was then elected, while enjoying the confidence of the anti-Jeffersonian party in Massachusetts, a senator of the United States, for six years from the 4th of March, 1803. But when the embargo question came before congress, he advocated that measure, and thereby became obnoxious to the legislature of the state which conferred upon him his station in congress. He resigned his office as senator, in 1808; and his reasons for so doing are to be found in a letter, which he addressed to the late Governor Sullivan, of Massachusetts. So valuable an acquisition to a party was not to be neglected, and in March 1809, he was nominated by Mr. Madison, for a Minister to Russia, but no vote was taken on the nomination. He was, however, in August following appointed minister plenipotentiary to the Emperor of Russia, the office before designated for him.

Such are the principal *political* events in the life of Mr. Adams, until his participation in the negociations

at Ghent, and his subsequent appointment to the office of Secretary of State.

In 1825, Mr. Adams was elected President of the United States.—At this time he occupies the executive chair of state with becoming dignity to himself and the nation.

His public *literary* career embraces the period, during which he held the office of Boylston Professor of Rhetoric and Oratory, in the University of Cambridge. His lectures are before the public, and are generally considered as happy specimens of learning and taste.

Mr. Adams was married at London, in July 1797, to a daughter of Joshua Johnson, the Consul of the United States at that place.

LIFE OF CLAY.

Henry Clay, was born in Virginia, in April, 1776. At this time the affairs of the country were so unsettled, that it may be said of Mr. Clay that he was cradled in the clouds and rocked by the whirlwind, to which many may be inclined to attribute the hardihood of his mind, and the intrepid character of his oratory. The elements of opposition to a foreign influence assumed that form which suspended all the advantages and enjoyments of social life, and called upon every member of the community to meet peril and privation, to encounter hunger and nakedness, and fire and sword, in order to strike off colonial fetters, and elevate the country to independence and a substantive character among nations. The effects of this state of things continued when the cause was removed; and years had elapsed after the termination of the contest before the dislocated institutions of civil life could be perfectly replaced and re-established. Inauspicious,

therefore, was the age for the cultivation of juvenile intellect.—Youthful genius, in a majority of instances, had to rely on its own industry and resources for the formation of its character; and such was the necessity which circumstances imposed on Mr. Clay, who is said to have derived little assistance from the aid of tutors and the discipline of schools.

At an early age, Mr. Clay removed to Kentucky, where he took an active part in opposing the alien and sedition laws; and, afterwards, in advocating the cause of negro emancipation in his adopted State; and the ability which he displayed on these occasions obtained for him a seat in the State Legislature, from which, in 1807, he was transferred to the Senate of the United States, to serve the remainder of the term for which Gov. Adair was elected. In 1807, he was again elected to the State Legislature, and in 1809, was once more transferred to the U. S. Senate, where he remained until 1811, when he became a member of the House of Representatives, in which with the exception of the 17th Congress, and the interval of his diplomatic residence in Europe, when he declined a re-election, he remained until 1825. His prominentacts in the Senate were his arguments in favor of the erection of the Potomac bridge, his defence of the occupation of West Florida by Mr. Madison, and his opposition to the renewal of the Bank charter. In the House of Representatives he retracted his former opinions respecting the Bank charter, ranged himself on the side of that illustrious phalanx which supported the second war of Independence, and proved himself the able advocate of the Navy, Internal Improvements, and Domestic Manufactures. His efforts in favor of South American Independence, and on the Missouri Question, have placed his name in conspicuous connexion with those important events, which so powerfully excited the feelings of every class of the American community. The high estimation in which the talents of Mr. Clay are held by the House of Repre-

sentatives, require no other evidence than the fact, that he has been elected Speaker, at the commencement of every session when he had a seat in the House, and that his decisions have been uniformly concurred in. This unvarying result is to be attributed, principally, to his perfect acquaintance with the rules of the House; and secondarily, to the peculiar weight and authority of manner with which he delivers his opinions. To the former, the old and experienced, render submission; while the latter awe and control the new members unpractised in the established routine of legislative proceedings.

In 1814, Mr. Clay was appointed, in conjunction with Mr. Adams and Mr. Bayard, to meet the British Commissioners at Ghent, for the purpose of arranging all matters in dispute between the two countries; and thence he proceeded to London and completed his diplomatic mission. The opportunities which this personal intercourse offered him of making himself familiar with the oratory of Europe could not, by a mind impregnated with honorable ambition, be allowed to pass unimproved. Those masters of eloquence, Pitt, Fox, Burke, Windham, and Sheridan, had indeed, passed away, and the places which they had filled with such surprising splendor were occupied by talents of an inferior order; yet the spirit of oratory survived, and within the walls of St. Stephens were to be heard voices which could discourse sweet music the ear, and fascinate the soul with energy of argument and the excursiveness of imagination, chastised by a discreet taste, and arrayed in all that fancy can conceive of the affluence of language. In Mr. Clay's elo ution, however, we find nothing imitative. It is peculiarly his own, and partakes largely of the character of our country; it is always bold, and frequently impassioned; disdaining the rules of art, it is regulated entirely by impulses, and relies for some of its most powerful effects on its capability of awakening responsive impulses in the breast of its auditors; in its selec-

tion of words and phrases, it prefers power to ornament, and on this account, frequently falls discordantly upon the ear; its imagery is never remote or ostentatious, nor of too frequent occurrence; sometimes it creates sympathy by the power of pathos; sometimes, flying from premises unsustainable, and illogical conclusions, it appeals to the sterner feelings in lofty tones of declamation; always avoiding the error of making thoughts subservient to words, the course of his language uniformly obeys the index of his mind whenever it may point, ranging with libertine carelessness through all the boundless sphere of expression.

Mr. Clay's manner is ardent and forcible. There is no fastidious delicacy in his choice of phrases; there is no reservation of thought; there is no sacrifice of sense to sound. He floats out into his subject with apparent indifference, not unfrequently, indeed, with a negligence which produces an unfavorable impression on his hearers: but, when he approaches his argument, he suddenly springs from this unnatural apathy, summons his whole soul to the conflict, throws himself into the tide of ideas, and surrenders himself up to an *impetus* which he seems to want both ability and disposition to resist. His style, although far from chaste, is commonly free from ambiguity; but it wants conciseness and concentration; and we are not convinced that it is always under the guidance of a sound judgment.

The figure of Mr. Clay is favorable for oratorical display. Tall and well-proportioned his countenance strongly marked, his gestures unrestrained and unartificial; his tones of voice, though few, yet flexible and musical; and add to all these, his manner enthusiastic and impressive, it cannot be matter of surprise that his eloquence has attained for him so extensive a popularity. Every muscle of his countenance indicates the working of his mind: every motion of his is corresponsive to a movement within; and every action receives its direction from the same legitimate source.

If, therefore, Mr. Clay cannot be set down as one of the most *finished*, his powers of eloquence entitle him to rank among the most *impressive* orators of the age.

In 1825, after J. Q. Adams, was inaugurated president of the United States, Henry Clay, was nominated and appointed Secretary of State, which high and responsible station he now fills with dignity and honor to himself and credit to the nation.

LIFE OF LAFAYETTE.

Gilbert Motier Marques de Lafayette, was born at Auvergne, in France, in the year 1757. The inhabitants of that province, from early times, have been distinguished for their boldness and love of independence; and the family of Lafayette were equally distinguished for their fearless spirit, and chivalrous contempt of danger. With these feelings, though but a youth, his attention was early directed to this country, while engaged in our revolutionary struggle with the giant power of Great Britain. He resolved to visit us and draw his virgin sword in our cause; and at the age of 19, he embarked in a ship furnished at his own expense, and landed at Charleston, S. C. in January, 1777. He was not a desperate adventurer, whose embarrassed affairs at home deprived him of the means of enjoying life, and, therefore, was willing to risk all under a selfish hope of bettering his own private condition. He was born to a princely fortune. He was surrounded by relatives and friends, and had been blessed even thus early in life with conjugal love. He bid adieu to his native land, to relatives and friends and to the tender and interesting partner of his bosom; to all the pleasures and amusements which were presented to him in the "gay regions and vine-covered hills of France," to join in the glorious contest

for liberty in the colonies of America. He immediately entered the army and served as a volunteer, until the 31st of July following, when he was commissioned by congress a major general, "in consequence of his zeal and his illustrious family connexions." He distinguished himself on various occasions, and particularly at the battle of Brandywine, where he was engaged in the hottest of the combat, and when wounded refused to quit the field. On the 25th of November following, he attacked and repulsed a body of Hessians with an inferior force, for which he was entrusted with a suitable command.

In 1779 he returned to France, on a visit; and soon after reaching Paris, a sword was presented him by the American minister, in the name of congress. While there he used all his influence with the Government in the cause so near his heart, and succeeded in gaining their countenance and assistance. He returned again, and landed at Boston, with large reinforcements, in 1780. In 1781 he was ordered to the south with a separate and independent command, for the purpose of driving Arnold out of Virginia; but failed in his object; for want of the co-operation of the French fleet. He was of great service, however, in checking the marauding expedition of General Phillips; and was soon afterwards opposed to Cornwallis, the ablest general sent by the mother country to subdue us. On first hearing that Lafayette was to be opposed to him, the British commander had exultingly said, "the boy shall not escape me;" but he found himself so often baffled by his young enemy, that it became necessary to use the greatest vigilance to prevent his own army from being surprised. His manœuvres were masterly.

The army was in want, and he supplied those wants from his private purse, paying 10,000 dollars at one time for clothing. At the siege of Yorktown he acted a brave and conspicuous part; in short, he continued actively engaged in our service till the close of the

war; saw our independence sealed, and our country free and happy, with a brighter prospect of future greatness spread before us than ever had blessed the struggles of any nation on earth.

In 1784 he embarked again for his native country, loaded with honor and the gratitude of the American people. He was received in France in the most enthusiastic manner; and when the French revolution broke out, he took sides again in the cause of freedom, and was elected to the *States General*, by his native province. In 1789 he came forward in that body with his celebrated declaration of the Rights of Man, and, for his firmness in opposition to the court, was elected president of the assembly and commandant of the National Guard. He did not, however enter into all the sanguinary measures of the revolutionists, and all his efforts were to preserve order in the capital.

When ordered by the commune of Paris to proceed to Versailles with his army, and take possession of the outposts, he restrained the violence of his soldiers, assured the king and queen of their safety, and saved the lives of fifteen of the household troops who had been selected as the victims of the infuriated assailants. He also advised the Duke of Orleans to leave the kingdom, as his presence gave countenance to many sanguinary procedures.

His popularity continued to increase, and in 1790 he was created general in chief of the National Guards of France. Occupying this important post at that interesting crisis, the eyes of the world were turned upon him. His whole energies were excited in the cause of liberty, and at the same time for the maintenance of the public tranquility. He held as it were a magnanimous neutrality between the different parties when beyond the laws of justice and moderation. He gave his vote for the trial by jury and the emancipation of the people of color. But in the spring of 1791, the tide of public feeling began to change. He was cruelly and unjustly suspected by

the national assembly, and his troops were even affected by the intrigues of those tumultuous times. And when the unfortunate Louis wished to visit St. Cloud, he gave orders to let him pass, and was for the first time disobeyed! When the king finally fled, his flight was attributed to him. And the king having been taken at Varennes, the royalists turned on him from one side, and Marat and his party accused him of treachery on the other. His life was even attempted by a ruffian, who was suffered to escape unpunished.

When the constitution was adopted, he resigned his command, on which occasion a gold medal and a bust of Washington were presented to him by the city of Paris. He was offered, in addition, a full remuneration for his losses by the revolution, and this he magnanimously declined.

In 1792 he was given the command of the army of the centre, near Ardennes. Observing, however, the wanton and unnecessary indignities offered the king, he caused remonstrances to be forwarded from the different corps of the army. These producing no effect, he went in person to Paris to make his complaints. The military once more opened their arms to receive him, and asked to be led against the Jacobin Club, the authors of all the injuries of which he complained. This offer, from a generous desire to prevent the effusion of blood, he refused, while he proposed to the king, at the same time, to throw himself upon the army for protection; but the imbecility and distrust of Louis prevented him from acceding to the offer. On the memorable 10th of August, and on the flight of the royal family to the national assembly for safety, Lafayette was deprived of his command, after vainly endeavoring to prevent the outrages of the mob. The Swiss Guards were all massacred, after a gallant resistance; and the noble-hearted Lafayette was compelled to fly before the madness and fury of his countrymen. A price was set upon his head, and the golden medal before him broken in pieces by the common hangman.

He therefore mounted his horse, with seventeen companions, among whom were Latour Maubourg, the friend of his youth; Alexander Lamath, formerly the most bitter of his adversaries, but now determined to participate in his misfortunes; Bureau de Pusy, three times president of the constituting assembly; several of his aids-de-camp; and, in short, all those who dreaded the wrath of the triumphing party. None of them attempted to seduce a single battalion to desert, and, by such base and inglorious means, ensure the favor of the enemy: on the contrary, it was their sole wish to retire to some distant country, and wait for better days and a more auspicious fortune. Having abandoned the French territory, they travelled several leagues without encountering any difficulty! They were dressed in their respective uniforms; and, in the course of their journey, frankly announced themselves as officers, who, having left the army, were now repairing to Switzerland. At length they were met by an Austrian patrole, and being interrogated, they delivered in an account of their names and rank; adding, at the same time, the reasons which had induced them to fly from their own country. On this they were arrested, and declared prisoners to the king of Prussia.

Lafayette, when he first determined to abandon his troops, was well aware that he might be exposed to prejudice and enmity, scarcely less implicable than that from which he was obliged to shelter himself; yet both he and his friends still hoped that this monarch would, in their persons, respect the rules of war, and the rights of misfortune. But the leaders, now on their march to restore the ancient monarchy of France, equally neglecting the voice of policy and of justice, were rendered presumptuous by the hope of success, and steeled to pity on hearing of those divisions which presented them with the means of gratifying the reveries of ambition and revenge. Detesting every thing connected with the revolution, Frederick William was not displeased to have one of its first promoters in his

power. Lafayette was, therefore, with three other constituents, (Latour Maubourg, Alexander Lamath, and Burenux de Pusy,) conducted to Luxemburg, from whence he was permitted to address a letter to the Duke of Saxe Teschen, governor general of the low countries. That prince not only signified his refusal in the most peremptory manner, but added, with a degree of bitterness wholly unsuitable to the occasion, 'that they should be reserved for the scaffold." Immediately after this, a correspondence took place between the courts of Berlin and Vienna, relative to those prisoners; and as it was at length determined that the monarch who commanded the combined army, should be entrusted with the custody of Lafayette and his companions, they were accordingly conducted under an escort, and imprisoned at Wesel, where they were confined separately, and constantly superintended by non commisioned officers, who received strict orders never to permit them to remain, for a single moment, out of sight, nor to answer any questions that were put by them.

Lafayette, overwhelmed with chagrin and mortification, fell sick, and became so dangerously ill, that his life was despaired of. While in this condition, Maubough was refused permission to visit his friend, now supposed to be on his death bed.

But a salutary crisis having occurred, and the king of Prussia thinking that he might be able to profit by his convalescence, caused it to be intimated that his situation would be ameliorated, provided he would draw up his plans against France. But Lafayette exhibited, by means of an energetic answer, his scorn of such a proposition. On this, the rigors of his confinement were increased, and he and his companions soon after thrown into a wagon, and conveyed to Magdeburg, care being taken that they should learn nothing respecting their families, concerning whose fate they experienced the most lively emotions, in consequence of the proscriptions that prevailed in France.

By removing them in this manner, it seems to have been the intention of their persecutors to aggravate their miseries, and excite the public indignation; but if such were their motives, they were greatly disappointed, as they every where experienced that interest and compassion, produced alike by the injustice of of their detention, and the constancy of their courage. They remained, during a whole year at Magdeburg, in a dark, humid vault, surrounded by high palisades, shut up by means of four successive doors, fortified by iron bars, and fastened by padlocks. This fate, however, appeared to be now milder, as they were permitted to see each other, and allowed to walk an hour, each day, on one of the bastions.

At length the king of Prussia, all of a sudden, ordered Lafayette to be removed to Neiss. Maubourg in vain solicited to be shut up along with him; but this favor was denied, and he was conducted to Glatz, whither Bureaux de Pusy was also carried soon after. Alexander Lamath, who was dangerously ill, could not be transported along with his companions. His mother, after many solicitations, prevailed on the king to permit him to remain within his own dominions; and, soon after the peace had been concluded between that monarch and the French republic, he was fortunate enough to regain his liberty. The other prisoners were now confined in Neiss, for the purpose of being delivered up to Austria; and although the dungeon inhabited by them was still more damp and unhealthy than any of the others; yet they deemed themselves fortunate, for the three captives were permitted to enjoy the society of Madame Maissoneuve, who had courageously repaired thither to participate in the lot of her brother La Tour Maubourg.

Soon after this they were conducted to Olmutz; and, on their arrival there, were so completely stripped of every thing that only their buckles and watches remained; some books were also taken from them, in which the word *liberty* happened to be inserted, particularly "L'Esprit," by Helvetius, and Paine's

"Common Sense," both belonging to Lafayette. It was declared to each, while shutting them up separately in their cells, that henceforth they would never see any thing but the four walls of their dungeon; that they might expect no manner of intelligence either concerning persons or things; that the mention of their very names, even by the jailors, or in the dispatches sent to court, was prohibited, and that in future they would only be designated by particular numbers; and that they could never receive any information concerning the fate of their families, or their own reciprocal existence; and that, as men in this situation would be naturally inclined to destroy themselves, they must be interdicted the use of knife, fork, or any other instrument which might produce suicide!!

After three different attestations on the part of the physicians, pointing out the indispensable necessity of fresh air for Lafayette, he was permitted to walk on the fortress, and the indulgence afterwards was extended to a ride on certain days in an open carriage, with and officer by his side, a driver on the box, and two armed soldiers standing behind. It was this circumstance that afforded him an opportunity to escape on the 8th of November, 1794. The persons who assisted the Marquis in his escape were Doctor Bollman, a young German, who was employed by several Frenchmen and Americans then in England, and Mr. Huger, of South Carolina, who was accidentally travelling through Germany, and voluntarily engaged to accompany Doctor Bollman in the hazardous attempt."

The Doctor had already effected a communication with Lafayette, through the military surgeon who attended him, and who was a man of intelligence, probity, and feeling. Unsuspecting any plot, the Surgeon delivered a pamphlet, and afterwards a note to Lafayette, from Doctor Bollman. The note had been previously written over with sympathetic ink, a writing invisible unless brought out by the application of

heat. The few lines written with common ink concluded with the sentence "I am glad of the opportunity of addressing you these few words, which, when read with your *usual warmth*, will afford to a heart like yours, some consolation." This means of conveying secret intelligence had been so often used during the French Revolution, that it was thought the slight hint given would be sufficient, and so it proved; the Marquis became acquainted with the true motive of the Doctor's journey, and with his readiness to run all hazards to serve him in any practicable way. At the same time it was stated, that the mode in which the Marquis could be served must be pointed out by himself, since too much care could not be used to guard against suspicion; and since he alone, from within, could judge what might be attempted, from without, with any chance of success; that, for the same reason, it became expedient for the Doctor, after having established this communication, to leave Olmutz; that he should proceed to Vienna, but certainly return in a month or two, under some convenient pretext; flattering himself that this interval would be improved in devising and maturing a mode of attaining the great object.

Accordingly, he repaired to Vienna, and while there he procured a carriage to be built with convenient places contrived for secreting various articles, such as rope ladders, cords, a number of tools for cutting bars of iron, and for similar purposes of all of which he obtained a supply. These general preparations having been made, he visited several gentlemen on their estates in Moravia, and took an opportunity of again touching at Olmutz; where he just called on the Surgeon, who returned the pamphlet formerly left for the Marquis. On examining it he found that the margins had been written over with sympathetic ink—lime juice—and on applying heat he learn that the Marquis on account of his enfeebled state of health, after repeated applications, had obtained permission

to take an airing in a carriage, at stated days in the week, attended by a military guard; and that, by far the easiest mode to restore him to liberty, would be to attack the guard on one of those excursions, and then take him off.

Having read this, the Doctor contrived to fall in with the Surgeon, to whom he mentioned, verbally, that he had just received important intelligence from England, which would oblige him shortly to return to London; that he was immediately going to Vienna to arrange his affairs, but should be back in a few days, when he should take his final leave of him. This he had no doubt would be repeated to the Marquis, and be sufficient for his information. He did not, however, leave Olmutz, before ascertaining the manner the Marquis was guarded when taking his rides. No time was to be lost, yet how to proceed seemed difficult. The doctor was alone, without a confidant, without even a servant that could be depended upon, and by no means abundantly supplied with money. Under such circumstances, success could only be expected from simplicity of design, and boldness of execution; yet it became indispensible to have at least one co-adjutor who should be in the secret, and he chose for this purpose, the before-mentioned Mr. Huger, with whom he became accidentally acquainted at Vienna. He found him possessed of a warm heart and resolute mind. Like others of his countrymen he entertained the highest regard for the Marquis, and lamented his fate. He had, besides, often mentioned in conversation that Lafayette, on arriving in America, first landed at his father's house, and there often used to have him on his knees when a boy. Under these circumstances it seemed that he might be safely trusted; nor was the confidence misplaced. They procured two saddle horses, and soon after repaired to Olmutz. Knowing the day when the Marquis was to take his ride, Mr. Huger feigned some business near the town gate, in order to watch the moment when the carriage

should pass. As soon as he saw it, he flew to the Inn. Our adventurers mounted, and followed the carriage at some distance, armed only with a pair of pistols, and those not loaded with ball. The carriage proceeded between two and three miles, when it left the high road, and took a track traversing an open plain, for in Moravia the fields are only separated by small ditches, instead of fences or hedges; the plain was covered with laboring people. Presently the carriage stopped; Lafayette and the officer stepped out, and walked arm in arm; the carriage with the guard drove slowly on, but remained in sight. This was the moment. The two companions galloped up; the doctor dismounting, left his horse with Huger; at the same instant the Marquis laid hold of the officers sword, but could only half draw it from the scabbard, as the officer, a stout man, had seized it also. The doctor joining, he was presently disarmed, but he then grasped the Marquis, held him with all his might and set up a tremendous roaring, not unlike that of Mars in the Iliad. The guard on hearing it, instead of coming up to his assistance ran: the people in the field stood aghast. A scuffle ensued. Huger passed the bridles of the two horses over one arm, and with the other hand thrust his handkerchief into the officers mouth to stop the noise. The officer, the Marquis, and the doctor came to the ground; the doctor, kneeling on the officer, kept him down while the Marquis rose. All would have been well, but one of the horses, taking fright at the scene and noise, had reared slipped his bridle, and ran off; a country man caught him, and was holding him at a considerable distance. Whether he could be had again was doubtful. The doctor still holding down the officer, handed a purse to the Marquis and requested him to mount the horse left and proceed to Hoff, where he would promptly join him, if possible, if not, to make the best of his way to the frontier. The Marquis was out of sight in a moment. The officer recovered from his panic,

and fled towards Olmutz; the doctor and Mr. Huger went to the horse which had escaped, and obtained him from the peasant for a piece of gold, but finding he would not carry double, Mr. Huger instantly said, "This will not do; the Marquis wants you, push on; I'll take my chance on foot, across the country." The doctor then galloped off after the Marquis, and soon reached Hoff, but did not find him there; he, therefore, ordered the post boy to drive on; but little concerned for himself, and anxious to fall in with, or receive some intelligence from the Marquis, he kept travelling along the frontier, and was finally overtaken and arrested, towards evening on the second day after his departure from Olmutz. Mr. Huger did not remain at liberty so long; within sight of the people in the fields, before whom the whole transaction had taken place, when generously telling the doctor to proceed, he was followed by them, seized, and conducted to Olmutz. The Marquis remained unpursued, but having mistaken the road, he followed it to within a few miles of the frontier; perceiving then that his horse became excessively tired, and was near giving over, he accosted a man whom he had overtaken on the road not far from a village, and under some pretext endeavored to prevail on him to procure him another horse, and to attend him to the frontier. The man apparently agreed, and went to the village for horses, but soon returned with a force to arrest the Marquis and conduct him before a magistrate, and, finally to the fortress at Olmutz.

After a formal trial, and an imprisonment of more than eight months, the doctor and Mr. Huger were released, but their triumph was embittered by the continued captivity of the Marquis. In order to augment the horrors experienced by Lafayette, he was made to believe that the two gentlemen, who so nobly interested themselves in his favor, had perished on a scaffold. While thus tortured in his dungeon at Olmutz, and apprehending daily to be delivering up to

the hands of the executioner, his unhappy wife, who was confined in a dungeon at Paris, also expected every hour to suffer the same disastrous fate which had attended the greater part of her family. The fall of Robespierre at length saved her life, but it was long afterwards before she gained her liberty, and the necessary strength to execute the design she had for some time meditated. Having found means to leave France, she landed at Altona, September 9th 1795, and set out immediately for Vienna, under the name of Moltier, with an American passport, and arrived there with her two daughters before her design had been divulged. The Prince de Rosenberg, affected by her virtues, and her misfortunes, obtained an audience from the Emperor, and leave to participate in the captivity of a husband and a father, but absolutely refused to make any promise relative to the liberty of Lafayette.

During two years this interesting family continued immured within the walls of the prison, treated with unnecessary rigor—inhaling, in those chambers, or rather dungeons an almost pestilential air. The health of Madame Lafayette was destroyed, and that of her daughters greatly injured. Maubourg, Pusy, and Lafayette, had already been imprisoned during three years and five months, in the same gallery, without seeing or being acquainted with the fate of each other, and entertained no prospect whatever of their liberty, when the French Directory, by means of their ambassador, Barthelmi, interfered in their behalf. But this was, at first attended with no beneficial effect; and it was not till the conquerer of Italy had sent Louis Romeuf, formerly one of Lafayette's *Aids-de-camp*, to solicit this favor, that the court of Vienna would consent to their deliverance.

The Austrian mintsters endeavored on this occasion, to obtain conditions from the prisoners, which they were determined not to accede to; and it was even required, by a nobleman employed for that pur-

pose, that Lafayette should quit Europe immediately. In a spiritedly reply, transmitted by the latter, he says: "His Majesty the Emperor and King wishes to be assured, that, immediately after my deliverance, I will set out for America. This intention has been often manifested on my part; but as my consent at the present moment would seem to recognise the right of imposing this condition, I do not deem it proper to accede to it." He thus continues: "There are certain duties which I can never abandon. By these I am connected with the United States, and more especially with France; and I cannot enter into an engagement with any one, in contravention to the claims which my country possesses, in respect to my person." This unexpected resistance greatly irritated the Austrian cabinet, and the doors of their dungeons were once more shut upon them, while Bonaparte was given to understand that they had been restored to their liberty. But, at length, having received intelligence of what had occurred, he sent Romuef to Vienna, and they were finally liberated in the month of September, 1797.

Immediately after this event had taken place, they repaired to Hamburg, and Madame Lafayette having obtained leave to return to France, her husband was permitted by Bonaparte to repair thither also, soon after the revolution that occurred in November, 1799. Latour Maubourg, as well as his son and brother, were recalled by Bonaparte in 1800: and their friendship for the family of Lafayette has been still further cemented by a marriage between young Maubourg and a daughter of the General. Alexander Lamath, after having obtained his liberty by the influence of his mother, went to England in 1796, and did not till 1800 obtain a permanent residence in France.

Lafayette was now offered the protection of Bonaparte; but unwilling to associate in his government, he declined it. Ever watchful of the cause of liberty, he voted against the consulship for life, refused being

made a senator, and, dissatisfied with the state of political affairs, retired to Hamburg, where he lived privately till after the overthrow of the Directory. He then returned to France, and employed himself on his estate, like another Cincinnatus, in agricultural improvements.

On the approach of the allies, he offered himself as a candidate, was elected a member of the House of Deputies and chosen their Vice President. After the battle of Waterloo, at the time when Bonaparte was about to dissolve the Legislature and usurp the dictatorship, Lafayette appeared at the tribune, and raising the old tri colored flag of 1789, exclaimed: "*Liberty, Equality, and Public Order.*" He caused the sitting of the house to be declared permanent, and any one who should attempt to dissolve it a *traitor* to his country, and to be brought to immediate judgment.

He also caused a declaration to be passed, that the army and national guards, who had fought, and were still fighting for the defence of the territory and independence, deserved well of their country. He insisted on the abdication of Bonaparte, was a member of the embassy ordered to demand of the allied powers a suspension of hostilities, which was refused them. He found, at his return, and, as it was said, to his great regret, the capitulation made, and the army removed. After the final restoration of the Bourbons, he once more retired to his beloved retreat, *La Grange*, when he was elected a deputy from La Sarthe. The influence of this old champion of liberty was so much dreaded by the ministry, and others of their party, that every possible means was taken by them to prevent the re-election of Lafayette as deputy. He therefore has remained in the bosom of his family for a number of years, enjoying that philosophic ease so desirable to a mind of his elevated cast, the delightful contemplation of a life spent in the service of mankind, and the gratitude, friendship, and admiration of Americans, in a degree only second to that which is felt for his immortal friend, Washington.

The United States congress of 1824, invited General Lafayette to visit this country; and they had authorised the President of the United States to have a frigate of the first class in readiness to convey General Lafayette, as soon as should be known he wished to visit his adopted country. On the 15th of September, of the same year without any further information, General Lafayette arrived at New York, in the Cadmus, one of the New York packets, from Havre, after a passage of thirty-one days, he was accompanied by his son George Washington Lafayette, and his private secretary, M. Auguste Le Vasseur, all in good health. On his landing he was conducted to the residence of Vice President Tompkins, on Staten Island, where he remained until the following day when he was received in the city of New York, with unspeakable demonstrations of joy and veneration. He has visited all the states, with no less enthusiasm of gratitude shewn him wherever he came to. He has travelled since he arrived in this country, in one year about 18,000 miles. He was present at the inauguration of President Adams, at laying the corner-stone of the Bunker Hill Monument, &c.

In 1825, the Congress of the United States appropriated to him by an almost unanimous vote (there being but one dissenting voice) *two hundred thousand dollars*, in United State's six per cent stock—and an entire township of land; left optional with him to locate where he saw proper, from any of the unsold lands belonging to the United States.

Declaration of Independence.

IN CONGRESS, JULY 4, 1776.

The Unanimous Declaration of the Thirteen United States of America.

WHEN, in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume, among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the laws of nature and of natur's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.

We hold these truths to be self-evident:—that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. That to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute new government, laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate, that governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and accordingly all experience hath shown, that mankind are more disposed to suffer while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce them under absolute despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such government, and to provide new guards for their future

security. Such has been the patient sufferance of these colonies; and such is now the necessity which constrains them to alter their former systems of government. The history of the present king of Great Britain, is a history of repeated injuries and usurpations, all having in direct object the establishment of an absolute tyranny over these states. To prove this, let facts be admitted to a candid world.

He has refused his assent to laws the most wholesome and necessary for the public good.

He has forbidden his governors to pass laws of immediate and pressing importance, unless suspended in their operation, till his assent should be obtained; and when so suspended, he has utterly neglected to attend to them. He has refused to pass other laws for the accommodation of large districts of people, unless those people would relinquish the right of representation in the legislature—a right inestimable to them, and formidable to tyrants only.

He has called together legislative bodies at places unusual, uncomfortable, and distant from the repository of their public records, for the sole purpose of fatiguing them into compliance with his measures.

He has dissolved representative houses repeatedly, for opposing, with manly firmness, his invasions on the rights of the people.

He has refused, for a long time after such dissolutions, to cause others to be elected; whereby the legislative powers, incapable of annihilation, have returned to the people at large, for their exercise, the state remaining, in the mean time, exposed to all the dangers of invasion from without, and convulsions within.

He has endeavored to prevent the population of these states; for that purpose obstructing the laws for naturalization of foreigners; refusing to pass others to encourage their migration hither, and raising the conditions of new appropriations of lands.

He has obstructed the administration of justice, by refusing his assent to laws for establishing judiciary powers.

He has made judges dependent on his will alone, for the tenure of their offices, and the amount and payment of their salaries.

He has erected a multitude of new offices, and sent hither swarms of officers, to harass our people, and eat out their substance.

He has kept among us, in times of peace, standing armies, without the consent of our legislatures.

He has affected to render the military independent of, and superior to, the civil power.

He has combined with others to subject us to a jurisdiction foreign to our constitution, and unacknowledged by our laws; giving his assent to their acts of pretended legislation:

For quartering large bodies of armed troops among us:

For protecting them, by a mock trial, from punishment for any murders which they should commit on the inhabitants of these states:

For cutting off our trade with all parts of the world:

For imposing taxes on us without our consent:

For depriving us, in many cases, of the benefits of trial by jury:

For transporting us beyond seas to be tried for pretended offences:

For abolishing the free system of English laws in a neighbouring province, establishing therein an arbitrary government, and enlarging its boundaries, so as to render it at once an example and fit instrument for introducing the same absolute rule into these colonies:

For taking away our charters, abolishing our most valuable laws, and altering, fundamentally, the forms of our governments:

For suspending our own legislatures, and declaring themselves invested with power to legislate for us in all cases whatsoever.

He has abdicated government here, by declaring us out of his protection, and waging war against us.

He has plundered our seas, ravaged our coasts,

burnt our towns, and destroyed the lives of our people.

He is at this time transporting large armies of foreign mercenaries to complete the works of death, desolation, and tyranny, already begun with circumstances of cruelty and perfidy, scarcely paralleled in the most barbarous ages, and totally unworthy the head of a civilized nation.

He has constrained our fellow-citizens, taken captive on the high seas, to bear arms against their country, to become the executioners of their friends and brethren, or to fall themselves by their hands.

He has excited domestic insurrections amongst us, and has endeavoured to bring on the inhabitants of our frontiers the merciless Indian savages, whose known rule of warfare is an undistinguished destruction of all ages, sexes, and conditions.

In every stage of these oppressions we have petitioned for redress in the most humble terms: our repeated petitions have been answered only by repeated injury. A prince, whose character is thus marked by every act which may define a tyrant, is unfit to be the ruler of a free people.

Nor have we been wanting in attentions to our British brethren. We have warned them, from time to time, of attempts by their legislature to extend an unwarrantable jurisdiction over us. We have reminded them of the circumstances of our emigration and settlement here. We have appealed to their native justice and magnanimity, and we have conjured them by the ties of our common kindred to disavow these usurpations, which would inevitably interrupt our connexions and correspondence. They too have been deaf to the voice of justice and of consanguinity. We must, therefore, acquiesce in the necessity which denounces our separation, and hold them, as we hold the rest of mankind—enemies in war, in peace friends.

We, therefore, the representatives of the United States of America, in general congress assembled, ap-

pealing to the Supreme Judge of the world, for the rectitude of our intentions, do, in the name and by the authority of the good people of these colonies, solemnly publish and declare, that these united colonies are and of right ought to be, free and independent states; that they are absolved from all allegiance to the British crown, and that all political connexion between them and the state of Great Britain, is, and ought to be, totally dissolved; and that, as free and independent states, they have full power to levy war, conclude peace, contract alliances, establish commerce, and to do all other acts and things which independent states may of right do. And for the support of this declaration, with a firm reliance on the protection of Divine Providence, we mutually pledge to each other our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honor.

JOHN HANCOCK.

NEW HAMPSHIRE.

Josiah Bartlett, William Whipple,
Matthew Thornton.

MASSACHUSETTS BAY.

Samuel Adams, John Adams,
Robert Treat Paine, Elbridge Gerry.

RHODE ISLAND, &c.

Stephen Hopkins, William Ellery.

CONNECTICUT.

Roger Sherman, William Williams,
Samuel Huntington, Oliver Wolcott.

NEW YORK.

William Floyd, Francis Lewis,
Philip Livingston, Lewis Morris.

NEW JERSEY.

Richard Stockton, John Hart,
John Witherspoon, Abraham Clark.
Francis Hopkinson,

DELAWARE.

Cesar Rodney, Thomas M'Kean,
George Read,

PENNSYLVANIA.

Robert Morris, James Smith,
Benjamin Rush, George Taylor,
Benjamin Franklin, James Wilson,
John Morton, George Ross.
George Clymer,

MARYLAND.

Samuel Chase, Thomas Stone,
William Paca, Charles Carroll,

VIRGINIA.

George Wythe, Thomas Nelson, jr.
Richard Henry Lee, Francis Lightfoot Lee,
Thomas Jefferson, Carter Braxton.
Benjamin Harrison,

NORTH CAROLINA.

William Hooper, John Penn.
Joseph Hewes,

SOUTH CAROLINA.

Edward Rutledge, Thomas Lynch, jr.
Thomas Heyward, jr. Arthur Middleton.

GEORGIA.

Burton Gwinnett, George Walton.
Lyman Hall,

General George Washington's

FAREWELL-ADDRESS,

TO THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES,

ANNOUNCING HIS INTENTION OF RETIRING FROM PUBLIC SERVICES.

Friends and Fellow-Citizens,

The period for a new election of a citizen to administer the executive government of the United States, being not far distant, and the time actually arrived, when your thoughts must be employed in designating the person, who is to be cloathed with that important trust, it appears to me proper, especially as it may conduce to a more distinct expression of the public voice, that I should now apprise you of the resolution I have formed, to decline being considered among the number of those, out of whom a choice is to be made.

I beg you, at the same time, to do me the justice to be assured, that this resolution has not been taken, without a strict regard to all the considerations appertaining to the relation, which binds a dutiful citizen to his country; and that, in withdrawing the tender o service which silence in my situation might imply, I am influenced by no diminution of zeal for your future interest; no deficiency of grateful respect for your past kindness; but am supported by a full conviction that the step is compatible with both.

The acceptance of, and continuance hitherto in the office to which your suffrages have twice called me, have been a uniform sacrifice of inclination to the opinion of duty, and to a deference for what appeared to be your desire. I constantly hoped that it would

have been much earlier in my power, consistently with motives, which I was not at liberty to disregard, to return to that retirement, from which I had been reluctantly drawn. The strength of my inclination to do this, previous to the last election, had even led to the preparation of an address to declare it to you; but mature reflection on the then perplexed and critical posture of our affairs with foreign nations, and the unanimous advice of persons entitled to my confidence, impellad me to abandon the idea.

I rejoice, that the state of your concerns, external as well as internal, no longer renders the pursuit of inclination incompatible with the sentiment of duty, or propriety; and am persuaded whatever partiality may be retained for my services, that in the present circumstances of our country, you will not disapprove of my determination to retire.

The impressions with which I first undertook the arduous trust, were explained on the proper occasion. In the discharge of this trust, I will only say, that I have with good intentions, contributed towards the organization and administration of the goverment, the best exertions of which a very fallible judgment was capable. Not inconscious, in the outset, of the inferiority of my qualifications, experience in my own eyes, perhaps still more in the eyes of others, has strengthened the motives to diffidence of myself; and every day the increasing weight of years admonishes me more and more, that the shade of retirement is as necessary to me as it will be welcome. Satisfied that if any circumstances have given peculiar value to my services, they mere temporary, I have the consolation to believe, that while choice and prudence invite me to quit the political scene, patriotism does not forbid it.

In looking forward to the moment, which is intended to terminate the career of my public life, my feelings do not permit me to suspend the deep acknowledgment of that debt of gratitude which I owe to my beloved country, for the many honors it has conferred

upon me; still more for the steadfast confidence with which it has supported me; and for the opportunities I have thence enjoyed of manifesting my inviolable attachment, by services faithful and persevering, though in usefulness unequal to my zeal. If benefits have resulted to our country from these services, let it always be remembered to your praise, as an instructive example in our annals, that under circumstances in which the passions, agitated in every direction, were liable to mislead, amidst appearances sometimes dubious,—vicissitudes of fortune often discouraging,—in situations in which not unfrequently want of success has countenanced the spirit of criticism—the constancy of your support was the essential prop of the efforts, and a guarantee of the plans by which they were effected. Profoundly penetrated with this idea, I shall carry it with me to my grave, as a strong incitement to unceasing vows that Heaven may continue to you the choicest tokens of its beneficence—that your union and brotherly affection may be perpetual—that the free constitution, which is the work of your hands may be sacredly maintained—that its administration in every department may be stamped with wisdom and virtue—that, in fine, the happiness of the people of these states, under the auspices of liberty, may be made complete, by so careful a preservation and so prudent a use of this blessing as will acquire to them the glory of recommending it to the applause, the affection and adoption of every nation which is yet a stranger to it.

Here, perhaps, I ought to stop. But a solicitude for your welfare, which, cannot end but with my life, and the apprehension of danger, natural to that solicitude, urge me on an occasion like the present, to offer to your solemn contemplation, and to recommend to your frequent review, some sentiments; which are the result of much reflection, of no inconsiderable observation, and which appear to me all-important to the permanancy of your felicity as a people. These will be offered to you with the more freedom, as you can

only see in them the disinterested warnings of a parting friend, who can possibly have no personal motive to bias his council. Nor can I forget, as an encouragement to it, your indulgent reception of my sentiments on a former and not dissimilar occasion.

Interwoven as is the love of liberty with every ligament of your hearts, no recommendation of mine is necessary to fortify or confirm the attachment.

The unity of government which constitutes you one people is also now dear to you. It is justly so; for it is a main pillar in the edifice of your real independence, the support of your tranquility at home, your peace abroad; of your safety; of your prosperity; of that very liberty which you so highly prize. But as it is easy to foresee, that from different causes and from different quarters, much pains will be taken, many artifices employed to weaken in your minds the conviction of this truth; as this is the point in your political fortress against which the batteries of internal and external enemies will be most constantly and actively (though often covertly and insiduously) directed, it is of infinite moment, that you should properly estimate the immence value of your national Union to your collective and individual happiness; that you should cherish a cordial, habitual and immovable attachment to it; accustoming yourselves to think and speak of it as the Palladium of your political safety and prosperity; watching for its preservation with jealous anxiety; discountenancing whatever may suggest even that a suspicion that it can in any event be abandoned; and indignantly frowning upon the first dawning of every attempt to allienate any portion of our country from the rest, or to enfeeble the sacred ties which now link together the various parts.

For this you have every inducement of sympathy and interest. Citizens by birth or choice, of a common country, that country has a right to concentrate your affections. The name of AMERICAN, which belongs to you, in your national capacity, must always

exalt the just pride of patriotism, more than any appellation derived from local discriminations. With slight shades of difference, you have the same religion, manners, habits and political principles. You have in a common cause fought and triumphed together; the independence and liberty you possess are the work of joint councils, and joint efforts, of common dangers, sufferings and successes.

But these considerations, however powerfully they address themselves to your sensibility, are greatly outweighed by those which apply more immediately to your interest.—Here every portion of our country finds the most commanding motives for carefully guarding and preserving the Union of the whole.

The *North*, in an unrestrained intercourse with the *South*, protected by the equal laws of a common government, finds in the productions of the latter, great additional resources of maratime and commercial enterprise and precious materials of manufacturing industry.—The *South* in the same intercourse benefiting by the agency of the *North*, sees its agriculture grow and its commerce expand. Turning partly into its own channels, the seamen of the *North*, it finds its particular navigation invigorated; and while it contributes in different ways, to nourish and increase the general mass of the national navigation, it looks forward to the protection of a maratime strength to which itself is unequally adapted.—The *East*, in a like intercourse with the *West*, already finds, and in the progressive improvement of interior communications, by land and water, will more and more find a valuable vent for the commodities which it brings from abroad, or manufactures at home.—The *West* derives from the *East*, supplies requisite to its growth and comfort—and what is perhaps of still greater consequence, it must of necessity owe the *secure* enjoyment of indispensable *outlets* for its own productions to the weight, influence, and the future maratime strength of the Atlantic side of the Union, directed by an in-

dissoluble community of interest as *one nation*. Any other tenure by which the *West* can hold this essential advantage, whether derived from its own separate strength, or from an apostate and unnatural connection with any foreign power, must be intrinsically precarious.

While then every part of our country thus feels an immediate and particular interest in Union, all the parts combined cannot fail to find in the united mass of means and efforts greater strength, greater resource, proportionably greater security from external danger, a less frequent interruptian of their peace by foreign nations;—and what is of inestimable value, they must derive from Union an exemption from these broils and wars between themselves, which so frequently afflict neighbouring countries, not tied together by the same government; which their own rivalships alone would be sufficient to produce, but which opposite foreign alliances, attachments and intrigues would stimulate and embitter.—Hence likewise they will avoid the necessity of those overgrown military establishments, which under any form of government are inauspicious to liberty and which are to be regarded as particularly hostile to Republican Liberty; in this sense it is, that your union ought to be considered as a main prop of your liberty, and that the love of the one ought to endear to you the preservation of the other.

These considerations speak a persuasive language to every reflecting and virtuous mind, and exhibit the continuance of the Union as a primary object of a patriotic desire. Is there a doubt, whether a common government can embrace so large a sphere?—Let experience solve it. To listen to mere speculation in such a case were criminal. We are authorised to hope that a proper organization of the whole, with the auxiliary agency of governments for the respective subdivisions, will afford a happy issue to the experiment. It is well worth a fair and full experiment.

With such powerful and obvious motives to union, affecting all parts of our country, while experience shall not have demonstated its impracticability, there will always be reason to distrust the patriotism of those, who in any quarter may endeavour to weaken its bands.

In contemplating the causes which may disturb our Union, it occurs as matter of serious concern, that any ground should have been furnished for characterising parties by *Geographical* discriminations—*Northern* and *Southern*—*Atlantic* and *Western;* whence designing men may endeavour to excite a belief that there is a real difference of local interests and views. One of the expedients of party to acquire influence, within particular districts, is to misrepresent the opinions and aims of other districts. You cannot shield yourselves too much against the jealousies and heart burnings which spring from these misrepresentations; they tend to render alien to each other those who ought to be bound together by fraternal affection. The inhabitants of our western country have lately had a useful lesson on this head: they have seen, in the negociation by the Executive, and in the unanimous ratification by the Senate, of the treaty with Spain, and in the universal satisfaction at that event, throughout the United States, a decisive proof how unfounded were the suspicions propagated among them of the policy in the General Government, and in the Atlantic States, unfriendly to their interests in regard of the Mississippi: they have been witnesses to the formation of two treaties, that with Great Britain and that with Spain, which secure to them every thing they could desire, in respect to our foreign relations; towards confirming their prosperity. Will it not be their wisdom to rely for the preservation of these advantages on the Union by which they were procured? Will they not henceforth be deaf to those advisers, if such there are, who would sever them from their Brethren and connect them with aliens?

To the efficacy and permanency of your Union, a Government for the whole is indispensable—No alliances, however strict, between the parts can be an adequate substitute; they must inevitable experience the infractions and interruptions which all alliances in all times have experienced. Sensible of this momentous truth, you have improved upon your first essay, by the adoption of a Constitution of Government better calculated than your former for an intimate Union, and for the efficacious management of your common concerns. This Government, the offspring of our own choice, uninfluenced and unawed, adopted upon full investigation and mature deliberation, completely free in its principles, in the distribution of its powers, uniting security with energy, and containing within itself a provision for its own amendment, has a just claim to your confidence and your support. Respect for its authority, compliance with its laws, acquiescence in its measures, are duties enjoined by the fundamental maxims of true Liberty. The basis of our political systems is the right of the people to make and to alter their Constitutions of Government—But, the Constitution which at any time exists, 'till changed by an explicit and authentic act of the whole people, is sacredly obligatory upon all. The very idea of the power and the right of the people to establish Government, pre-supposes the duty of every individual to obey the established Government.

All obstructions to the execution of the Laws, all combinations and associations, under whatever plausible character, with real design to direct, controul, counteract, or awe the regular deliberation and action of the constituted authorities, are destructive of this fundamental principle, and of fatal tendency. They serve to organize faction, to give it an artificial and extraordinary force—to put in the place of the delegated will of the nation, the will of a party, often a small but artful and enterprizing minority of the community; and according to the alternate triumphs of

different parties, to make the public administration the mirror of the ill-concerted and incongruous projects of fashion, rather than the organ of consistent and wholesome plans digested by common councils, and modified by mutual interests.

However combinations or associations of the above description may now and then answer popular ends, they are likely in the course of time and things, to become potent engines, by which cunning, ambitious and unprincipled men will be enabled to subvert the power of the people, and to usurp for themselves the reins of Government; destroying afterwards the very engines which have lifted them to unjust dominion.

Towards the preservation of your Government, and the permanency of your present happy state, it is requisite, not only that you steadily discountenance irregular oppositions to its acknowledged authority, but also that you resist with care the spirit of innovation upon its principles however specious the pretext.—One method of assault may be to effect in the forms of the constitution alterations which will impair the energy of the system, and thus to undermine what cannot be directly overthrown. In all the changes to which you may be invited, remember that time and habit are at least as necessary to fix the true character of Governments, as of other human institutions—that experience is the surest standard, by which to test the real tendency of the existing constitution of a country—that facility in changes upon the credit of mere hypothesis and opinon, exposes to perpetual change, from the endless variety of hypothesis and opinion; and remember, especially, that for the efficient management of your common interest, in a country so extensive as ours, a government of as much vigour as is consistent with the perfect security of liberty, is indispensable. Liberty itself will find in such a government, with powers properly distributed and adjusted, its surest guardian. It is indeed little else than a name, where the government is too feeble to

withstand the enterprizes of faction, to confine each member of the society within the limits prescribed by the laws, and so maintain all in the secure and tranquil enjoyment of the rights of person and property.

I have already intimated to you the danger of parties in the state, with a particular reference to the founding of them on geographical discriminations. Let me now take a more comprehensive view, and warn you, in the most solemn manner, against the baneful effects of the spirit of party generally.

This spirit, unfortunately, is inseperable from our nature, having its roots in the strongest passions of the human mind. It exists under different shapes in all governments, more or less stifled, controuled, or repressed; but in those of the popular form, it is seen in its greatest rankness, and is truly their worst enemy.

The alternate domination of one faction over another; sharpened by the spirit of revenge, natural to party dissention, which, in different ages and countries has perpetrated the most horrid enormities, is itself a frightful despotism—But this leads at length to a more formal and permanent despotism. The disorders and miseries, which generally result, gradually incline the minds of men to seek security and repose in the absolute power of an individual: and sooner or later the chief of some prevailing faction, more able or more fortunate than his competitors, turns this disposition to the purpose of his own elevation, on the ruins of public liberty.

Without looking forward to an extremity of this kind, (which nevertheless ought not to be entirely out of sight) the common and continual mischiefs of the spirit of party are sufficient to make it the interest and duty of a wise people to discourage and restrain it.

It serves always to distract the public counsels, and enfeeble the public administration. It agitates the community with ill-founded jealousies and false alarms; kindles the animosity of one part against ano-

ther; foments occasionally riot and insurrection. It opens the door to foreign influence and corruption, which find a facilitated access to the government itself, through the channels of party passions. Thus the policy and the will of one country are subjected to the policy and will of another.

There is an opinion, that parties in free countries are useful checks upon the administration of the government, and serve to keep alive the spirit of liberty. This, within certain limits is probably true; and in governments of a monarchical cast, patriotism may look with indulgence, if not with favour, upon the spirit of party. But in those of the popular character, in governments purely elective, it is a spirit not to be encouraged. From their natural tendency, it is certain there will always be enough of that spirit for every salutary purpose. And there being constant danger of excess, the effort ought to be, by force of public opinion, to mitigate and assuage it. A fire not to be quenched; it demands an uniform vigilance to prevent its bursting into a flame, lest instead of warming it should consume.

It is important likewise, that the habits of thinking in a free country should inspire caution, in those entrusted with its administration, to confine themselves within their respective constitutional spheres, avoiding in the exercise of the powers of one department to encroach upon another. The spirit of encroachment tends to consolidate the powers of all the departments in one, and thus to create, whatever the form of government, a real despotism. A just estimate of that love of power, and proneness to abuse it, which predominates in the human heart, is sufficient to satisfy us of the truth of this position. The necessity of reciprocal checks in the exercise of political power, by dividing and distributing it into different depositories, and constituting each the guardian of the public weal, against invasions by others, has been evinced by experiments ancient and modern; some of

them in our country, and under our own eyes. To preserve them, must be as necessary as to institute them. If, in the opinion of the people, the distribution or modification of the constitutional powers be in any particular wrong, let it be corrected by an amendment, in a way which the constitution designates. But let there be no change by usurpation; for though this in one instance, may be the instrument of good, it is the customary weapon by which free governments are destroyed. The precedent must always greatly overbalance in permanent evil, any partial or transient benefit which the use can at any time yield.

Of all the dispositions and habits which lead to political prosperity, Religion and Morality are indispensable supports.—In vain would that man claim the tribute of Patriotism, who should labour to subvert these great pillars of human happiness, these firmest props of the duties of Men and Citizens.—The mere Politician, equally with the pious man, ought to respect and to cherish them. A volumn could not trace all their connections with private and public felicity. Let it simply be asked where is the security for property, for reputation, for life, if the sense of religious obligation *desert* the oaths, which are the instruments of investigation in Courts of Justice? And let us with caution indulge the supposition, that morality can be maintained without religion. Whatever may be conceded to the influence of refined education on minds of peculiar structure; reason and experience both forbid us to expect that national morality can prevail in exclusion of religious principle.

'Tis substantially true, that virtue or morality is a necessary spring of popular government. The rule indeed extends with more or less force to every species of free government. Who that is a sincere friend to it can look with indifference upon attempts to shake the foundation of the fabric?

Promote, then, as an object of primary importance, institutions for the general diffusion of knowledge—In

proportion as the structure of a government gives force to public opinion, it is essential that public opinion should be enlightened.

As a very important source of strength and security, cherish public credit. One method of preserving it; is to use it as sparingly as possible; avoiding occasions of expense by cultivating peace, but remembering also that timely disbursements to prepare for danger frequently prevent much greater disbursements to repel it; avoiding likewise the accumulation of debt, not only by shunning occasions of expence, but by vigorous exertions in time of peace to discharge the debts which unavoidable wars may have occasioned, not ungenerously throwing upon posterity the burthen which we ourselves ought to bear.—The execution of these maxims belongs to your representatives, but it is necessary that public opinion should co-operate.—To facilitate to them the performance of their duty, it is essential that you should practically bear in mind, that towards the payment of debts there must be revenue, that to have revenue there must also be taxes; that no taxes can de devised which are not more or less inconvenient and unpleasant; that the intrinsic embarrassment inseparable from the selection of the proper objects (which is always a choice of difficulties) ought to be a decisive motive for a candid construction of the conduct of the government in making it, and for a spirit of acquiescence in the measures for obtaining revenue which the public exigencies may at any time dictate.

Observe good faith and justice towards all nations, cultivate peace and harmony with all; religion and morality enjoin this conduct; and can it be that good policy does not equally enjoin it? It will be worthy of a free, enlightened, and, at no distant period, a great nation, to give to mankind the magnanimous and too novel example of a people always guided by an exalted justice and benevolence. Who can doubt that, in the course of time and things, the fruits of such a plan would richly repay any temporary advantages which

might be lost by a steady adherance to it? Can it be, that Providence has not connected the permanent felicity of a nation with its virtue? The experiment, at least, is recommended by every sentiment which ennobles human nature. Alas! is it rendered impossible by its vices!

In the execution of such a plan, nothing is more essential than that permanent, inveterate antipathies against particular nations, and passionate attachments for others should be excluded; and that in place of them just and amicable feelings towards all should be cultivated. The nation, which indulges towards another an habitual hatred, or an habitual fondness is in some degree a slave. It is a slave to its animosity or its affection, either of which is sufficient to lead it astray from its duty and its interest. Antipathy in one nation against another disposes each more readily to offer insult and injury, to lay hold of slight causes of umbrage, and to be haughty and intractable, when accidental or trifling occasions of dispute occur. Hence frequent collisions, obstinate, envenomed and bloody contests. The nation, prompted by ill will and resentment, sometimes impels to war the government, contrary to the best calculations of policy. The government sometimes participates in the national propensity, and adopts through passion what reason would reject; at other times, it makes the animosity of the nation subservient to projects of hostility instigated by pride, ambition, and other sinister and pernicious motives. The peace often, sometimes perhaps the liberty, of nations has been the victim.

So likewise, a passionate attachment of one nation for another produces a variety of evils. Sympathy for the favourite nation, facilitating the illusion of an imaginary common interest, in cases where no real common interest exists, and infusing into one the enmities of the other, betrays the former into a participation in the quarrels and wars of the latter, without adequate inducement or justification. It leads also to concessions to the favourite nation of privileges de-

nied to others, which is apt doubly to injure the nation making the concessions; by unnecessarily parting with what ought to have been retained; and by exciting jealousy, ill-will, and a disposition to retaliate, in the parties from whom equal privileges are withheld: and it gives to ambitious, corrupted, or deluded citizens (who devote themselves to the favorite nation) facility to betray or sacrifice the interests of their own country, without odium, sometimes even with popularity; gilding with the appearances of a virtuous sense of obligation, a commendable deference for public opinion, or a laudable zeal for public good, the base or foolish compliances of ambition, corruption, or infatuation.

As avenues to foreign influence in innumerable ways, such attachments are particularly alarming, to the enlightened and independent patriot. How many opportunities do they afford to tamper with domestic factions, to practice the arts of seduction, to mislead public opinion, to influence or awe the public councils! Such an attachment of a small or weak, towards a great and powerful nation, dooms the former to be the satellite of the other.

Against the insidious wiles of foreign influence (I conjure you to believe me fellow-citizens) the jealousy of a free people ought to be *constantly* awake; since history and experience prove, that foreign influence is one of the most baneful foes of republican government. But that jealousy, to be useful must be impartial, else it becomes the instrument of the very influence to be avoided, instead of a defence against it. Excessive partiality for one foreign nation, and excessive dislike of another, cause those whom they actuate to see the danger only on one side, and serve to veil and even to second the arts of influence on the other. Real patriots, who may resist the intrigues of the favourite, are liable to become suspected and odious; while its tools and dupes, usurp the applause and confidence of the people to surrender their interests.

The great rule of conduct for us, in regard to foreign nations, is in extending our commercial relations, to have with them as little *political* connexion as possible. So far as we have already formed engagements, let them be fulfilled with perfect good faith—Here let us stop.

Europe has a set of primary interests, which to us have none, or a very remote relation. Hence she must be engaged in frequent controversies, the causes of which are essentially foreign to our concerns. Hence, therefore, it must be unwise in us to implicate ourselves, by artificial ties, in the ordinary vicissitudes of her politics, or the ordinary combinations or collisions of her friendships, or enmities.

Our detached and distant situation invites and enables us to pursue a different course. If we remain one people, under an efficient government, the period is not far off, when we may defy material injury from external annoyance: we may take such an attitude as will cause the neutrality, we may at any time resolve upon, to be scrupulously respected; when belligerent nations under the impossibility of making acquisions upon us; will not lightly hazard the giving us provocation; when we may choose peace or war, as our interest, guided by justice, shall counsel.

Why forego the advantages of so peculiar a situation? Why quit our own to stand upon foreign ground? Why, by interweaving our destiny with that of any part of Europe, entangle our peace and prosperity in the toils of European ambition, rivalship, interest humour or caprice?

'Tis our true policy to steer clear of permanent alliances with any portion of the foreign world; so far, I mean, as we are now at liberty to do it; for let me not be understood as capable of patronising infidelity to existing engagements. I hold the maxim no less applicable to public than to private affairs, that honesty is always the best policy. I repeat it therefore, let those engagements be observed in their genuine sense.

But in my opinion, it is unnessary and would be unwise to extend them:

Taking care always to keep ourselves, by suitable establishments, on a respectable defensive posture, we may safely trust to temporary alliances for extraordinary emergencies.

Harmony, liberal intercourse with all nations, are recommended by policy, humanity, and interest. But even our commercial policy should hold an equal and impartial hand; neither seeking nor granting exclusive favours or preferences: consulting the natural course of things; diffusing and diversifying by gentle means the streams of commerce, but forcing nothing; establishing, with powers so disposed in order to give trade a stable course, to define the rights of our merchants, and to enable the government to support them; conventional rules of intercourse, the best that present circumstances and mutual opinion will permit, but temporary, and liable to be from time to time abandoned or varied, as experience and circumstances, shall dictate; constantly keeping in view, that 'tis folly in one nation to look for disintesested favours from another; that it must pay with a portion of its independence for whatever it may accept under that character; that by such acceptance, it may place itself in the condition of having given equivalents for nominal favours, and yet of being reproached with ingratitude for not giving more. There can be no greater error than to expect, or calculate upon real favours from nation to nation. 'Tis an illusion which experience must cure, which a just pride ought to discard.

In offering to you my countrymen, these counsels of an old and affectionate friend, I dare not hope the strong and lasting impression I could wish; that they will controul the usual current of the passions, or prevent our nation from running the course which has hitherto marked the destiny of nations: But if I may even flatter myself, that they may be productive of some partial benefit, some occasional good; that they

may now and then recur to moderate the fury of party spirit, to warn against the mischiefs of foreign intrigue, to guard against the impostures of pretended patriotism; this hope will be a full recompence for the solicitude of your welfare, by which they have been dictated.

How far in the discharge of my official duties, I have been guided by the principles that have been delineated, the public records and other evidences of my conduct must witness to you and to the world. To myself, the assurance of my own conscience is, that I have at least believed myself to be guided by them.

In relation to the still subsisting war in Europe, my proclamation of the 22d of April, 1793, is the index to my Plan. Sanctioned by your approving voice and by that of your Representatives in both Houses of Congress, the spirit of that measure has continually governed me; uninfluenced by any attempts to deter or divert me from it.

After deliberate examination with the aid of the best lights I could obtain, I was well satisfied that our country, under all the circumstances of the case, had a right to take, and was bound in duty and interest, to take a neutral position. Having taken it, I determined, as far as should depend upon me, to maintain it with moderation, perseverance and firmness.

The considerations which respect the right to hold this conduct, it is not necessary on this occasion to detail. I will only observe that according to my understanding of the matter, that right, so far from being denied by any of the belligerant powers, has been virtually admitted by all.

The duty of holding a neutral conduct may be inferred, without any thing more, from the obligations which justice and humanity impose on every nation, in cases in which it is free to act, to maintain inviolate the relations of peace and amity, towards other nations.

The inducements of interest for observing that con-

duct, will best be referred to your own reflections and experience. With me, a predominant motive has been to endeavour to gain time to our country, to settle and mature its yet recent institutions, and to progress without interruption, to that degree of strength and consistency, which is necessary to give it, humanly speaking, the command of its own fortunes.

Though in reviewing the incidents of my administration, I am unconscious of intentional error: I am, nevertheless, too sensible of my defects not to think it probable that I may have committed many errors. Whatever they may be, I fervently beseech the Almighty to avert or mitigate the evils to which they may tend. I shall also carry with me the hope that my country will never cease to view them with indulgence; and that after forty-five years of my life dedicated to its service, with an upright zeal, the faults of incompetent abilities will be consigned to oblivion, as myself must soon be to the mansion of rest.

Relying on its kindness in this, as in other things, and actuated by that fervent love towards it, which is so natural to a man, who views in it the natural soil of himself and his progenitors for several generations; I anticipate with pleasing expectation, that retreat in which I promise myself to realize without alloy, the sweet enjoyment of partaking, in the midst of my fellow-citizens, the benign influence of good laws under a free government; the ever favorite object of my heart, and the happy reward as I trust, of our mutual cares, labours, and dangers."

G. Washington.

United States, 17th Sept. 1796.

EULOGIUM.

Mr. Fox's Eulogium on General Washington, in the British Parliament—1794.

How infinitely superior must appear the spirit and principles of General Washington, in his late address to Congress, compared with the policy of modern European courts! Illustrious man! deriving honor less from the splendor of his situation than from the dignity of his mind; before whom all borrowed greatness sinks into insignificance, and all the princes and potentates of Europe become little and contemptible! He has no occasion to have recourse to any tricks of policy or arts of alarm; his authority has been sufficiently supported by the same means by which it was acquired, and his conduct has uniformly been characterised by wisdom, moderation, and firmness. He, feeling gratitude to France for the assistance received from her in that great contest which secured the independence of America, did not choose to give up the system of neutrality in favour of this country. Having once laid down that line of conduct, which both gratitude and policy pointed out as the most proper to be pursued, not all the insults or provocation of the French minister Genet, could at all put him out of his way, or bend him from his purpose. Entrusted with the care of the welfare of a great people, he did not allow the misconduct of another, with respect to himself, for one moment to interrupt the duty which he owed to them, or withdraw his attention from their interests. He had no fear of the Jacobins; he felt no alarm from their principles, and considered no precaution as necessary in order to stop their progress. The people over whom he presided, he knew to be acquainted with their rights and their duties. He trusted to their own good sense to defeat the effect of those arts which might be employed to enflame or mislead their

minds; and was sensible that a government could be in no danger, while it retained the attachment and confidence of its subjects—attachment, in this instance, not blindly adopted, confidence not implicitly given, but arising from the conviction of its excellence, and the experience of its blessings. I cannot indeed help admiring the wisdom and the fortune of this great man? not that by the phrase *fortune* I mean in the smallest degree to derogate from his merit. But, notwithstanding his extraordinary talents and exalted integrity, it must be considered as singularly fortunate, that he should have experienced a lot, which so seldom falls to the portion of humanity, and have passed through such a variety of scenes, without stain and without reproach. It must indeed create astonishment, that placed in circumstances so critical, and filling for a series of time, a station so conspicuous, his character should never once have been called in question; that he should in no one instance have been accused either of improper insolence, or of mean submission, in his transactions with foreign nations. It has been reserved for him to run the race of glory, without experiencing the smallest interruption to the brilliancy of his career. The breath of censure has not dared to impeach the purity of his conduct, nor the eye of envy to raise its malignant glance to the elevation of his virtues. Such has been the transcendant merit and the unparalleled fate of this illustrious man! But if the maxims now held forth were adopted, he who now ranks as the asserter of his country's freedom, and the guardian of its interests and honor, would, be deemed to have disregarded and betrayed that country, and to have entailed upon himself indelible reproach. How did he act when insulted by Genet? Did he consider it as necessary to avenge himself for the misconduct or madness of an individual, by involving a whole continent in the horrors of war? No; he contented himself with procuring satisfaction for the insult, by causing Genet to be recalled: and thus

at once consulted his own dignity and the interests of his country. Happy Americans! while the whirlwind flies over one quarter of the globe, and spreads every where desolation, you remain protected from its baneful effects, by your own virtues and the wisdom of your government. Separated from Europe by an immense ocean, you feel not the effects of those prejudices and passions which convert the boasted seat of civilization into scenes of horror and bloodshed. You profit by the folly and madness of the contending nations, and afford in your more congenial clime an asylum to those blessings and virtues which they wantonly contemn, or wickedly exclude from their bosom! Cultivating the arts of peace under the influence of freedom, you advance by rapid strides to opulence and distinction; and if by any accident you should be compelled to take part in the present unhappy contest, if you should find it necessary to avenge insult, or repel injury, the world will bear witness to the equity of your sentiments and the moderation of your views; and the success of your arms will no doubt, be proportioned to the justice of your cause!

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